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THE

CHRONICLE OF MUNTANER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE CATALAN

BY

LADY GOODENOUGH.

VOL. I.

WITH TWO MAPS.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE Chronicle of Muntaner comes, in point of time, between the two best known chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, between Joinville (1224—1318) and Froissart (1337—1410). He began it in 1325 and the last chapters deal with the coronation of Alfonso IV in 1328. The original MS. has disappeared and translations, as well as copies in the original Catalan, are not numerous.[1] It was not until the nineteenth century that it was translated into any language other than Spanish; in the first half of that century Moisé translated it into Italian, Buchon into French and Dr. Lanz into German. The latter also caused an edition in Catalan to be printed at Stuttgart in 1844. He calls the Chronicle one of the

[1] A MS. copy of the fourteenth century (continued in the seventeenth) is at the Escorial; one of the fourteenth century at the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid; two at the Biblioteca Provincial y Universitaria of Barcelona, and one in the private library of Don Baldirio Carreras. This last is of the fourteenth century and was at Poblet until the dispersion of the library of the Poblet monastery. Bofarull says that some hundred and fifty chapters are missing from it.

Of printed Catalan editions there are five :—

Valencia, 1558.
Barcelona, 1562.
Stuttgart, 1844.
Barcelona, 1860.
Barcelona, 1886.

(Information kindly supplied to translator by Don W. D. E. Gonzalez Hurtebise, Archivist of the Royal Archives of Barcelona.)

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rarest and, at the same time, one of the most interesting chronicles of the Middle Ages.[1] Gervinus[2] considered it a valuable source of information for the events it principally treats of. Gibbon, who relates the Catalan Expedition to Greece which Muntaner tells of so graphically, had only Moncada's account to go by, and blames him for not citing his authorities; he adds: "I cannot discern any national records of the exploits of his countrymen."[3]

No English translation has been published hitherto; the rendering now offered is from the Catalan as published by Antonio Bofarull in parallel columns with his Spanish translation. He used the Valencia and Barcelona editions, collating them with the MS. at the Escorial, a work of comparison which has not been undertaken since. The text of Bofarull's Catalan edition is practically identical with that of Dr. Lanz. There are a few slight variations between the printed editions, but none of these variations alters the sense.

The Chronicle deals with a period of over a hundred years for, though Muntaner writes chiefly of the events of his own time, in many of which he took part, he begins with an account of the birth of Jaime I in 1208. He writes in Catalan, the language at that time, of Mallorca and Roussillon as well as of Catalonia. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Catalan language, closely allied to Provençal and Limousin, was known throughout the Mediterranean countries owing to the naval supremacy of Aragon. This supremacy Aragon owed to her union with Catalonia by the marriage of Queen Petronilla to Count Raymon Berenguer of Barcelona in 1150,

[1] *Chronik des Edlen Hn Ramon Muntaner.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Lanz, Leipzig, 1842.

[2] Gervinus: *Historische Schriften I ter.* Band 1.

[3] Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Chapter LXII.

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a union which gave Aragon a long sea-coast with excellent harbours, and was the cause, after the conquests of Jaime I and the successful wars of Pedro III, of her rise to power and predominance amongst the many small independent kingdoms of the Peninsula. Another Royal marriage, that of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469, put an end to the supremacy of Catalonia; Barcelona ceased to be the capital and chief residence of the Aragon kings and the Catalan language was superseded by the Castilian in official documents.

The kings of Aragon who reigned during the period covered by the Chronicle were :—

Pedro II, the Catholic, who married Maria of Montpellier and was killed in the battle of Muret, fighting against the Albigenses under Simon de Montfort, the Elder. 1196-1213

Jaime I, Pedro II's son, who earned the title of Conquistador by his conquest of Mallorca, of Valencia and of Murcia and by many other victories over the Moors. On his death he left Mallorca to his second son, Jaime, thus founding a line of Aragon kings of Mallorca. They, however, were often mere titular kings, and the division of dominion became inevitably a source of weakness to the House of Aragon. Jaime I was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, 1213-1276

Pedro III, the Great, who married Costanza, daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen, King of Sicily. Through Costanza the kings of Aragon acquired a claim to the Crown of Sicily, a claim which led to twenty years of warfare. Pedro III was succeeded by his son, 1276-1285

Alfonso III who died unmarried and was succeeded by his brother, 1285-1291

Jaime II whose death and the coronation of whose son Alfonso IV are the last events described by Muntaner. 1291-1327

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He explains at the outset that he intends to speak in but a brief and fragmentary manner of the reign of Jaime I "as so many books have been written already about his life and his conquests and his deeds of chivalry and his prowess." He seems not to have known the Chronicle written by the king himself for, a little further on in the same chapter VII, he speaks of "lo libre quis feu de la preso de Mallorques" ("the book which was made of the taking of Mallorca," not "the book he made"). So devoted a servant of the Royal House would hardly pass over the Royal Chronicle without a special mention, merely lumping it with other books. His account of the reign is evidently a sort of digest of those books, and he probably followed Desclot, who wrote his chronicle about 1285. Oral tradition also must have had a large part in Muntaner's account.

Pedro III lived only nine years after his father's death, but he had had a large share in the government of the country and in the conduct of war in his father's lifetime.

1274 On his return from the Council of Lyons, whither he had gone at the invitation of Pope Gregory X, Jaime made his subjects swear fealty to his eldest son, Pedro, as King of Aragon and Valencia, Count of Barcelona and Lord of all Catalonia, and to his second son, Jaime, as King of Mallorca, Minorca and Ibiza, Count of Roussillon, Conflans and Cerdagne and Lord of Montpellier. Pedro had married in 1262. In Costanza's train came two notable youths who had been brought up with her, Roger de Luria and Conrado de Lansa. Both these names are met with spelt in various ways, the former Luria, Loria, Lauria, Lluria, the latter Lansa, Lanza, Lancia, Llanza, according to the fancy and nationality of the writer. Roger de Luria, the famous admiral who

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dominated the Mediterranean, was of noble lineage. His barony was in Calabria and consisted of twenty-four castles of which the principal was the Castle of Luria.[1] His mother, Madonna Bella, had brought up Costanza, followed her to Barcelona, and remained with her until her death. The other young noble, Conrado de Lansa, was a relation of the Queen.[2] His young sister also came over from Sicily and was, later, married to Roger de Luria.

Jaime I died at Valencia on the 25th July 1276. By 1276
his will he ordered his body to be taken to the monastery of the White Friars at Poblet. It was first deposited in the Cathedral at Valencia and not until 1278 did a lull in the wars against the Moors enable King Pedro to fulfil his father's wish. His body was then taken to Poblet and deposited in a wooden sarcophagus next to the tomb of his grandfather, Alfonso II. When, in 1390, the Royal tombs erected by Pedro IV, the Ceremonious, were finished, it was transferred to them.[3]

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[1] Boccaccio in *The Decameron* calls him Ruggieri dell 'Oria. It is probable that the castle Muntaner calls Luria, was the Castle of Oria near Taranto.

[2] Her grandmother was Blanca, daughter of Count Bonifazio de Lansa.

[3] The inscription on the sarcophagus was :—

Anno Domini MCCLXXVI.
Vigilia B. Mariae Magdalenae
Illustrissimus ac virtuosissimus
JACOBUS REX ARAGONUM, Majoricarum, Valentiae, Comesque Barcinonae
et Urgelli et Dominus Montispesulani,
accepit habitum Ordinis Cisterciensis
in villa Algecirae, et obiit Valentiae
VI. Kal. Augusti. Hic contra
Sarracenos semper praevalint,
et abstulit eis Regna Majoricarum,
Valentiae et Murciae et regnavit
LXII annis, X mensibus et XXV
diebus : et translatus est de civitate
Valentiae ad Monasterium Populeti,
ubi sepultus fuit praesentibus Rege
Pedro filio suo, ejus uxore Constantia

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II.

Shortly after his accession Pedro III was involved in war with the King of Tunis. The Emir Boaps refused to send the yearly tribute which had been paid regularly by his predecessor, El Mostanzar, his elder brother. Pedro resolved to depose Boaps and put his brother, Busach, in his place. Busach alleged that El Mostanzar, who died childless, had left him the kingdom and that, in his absence in the East at the time of El Mostanzar's death, Boaps had seized the government. Ten galleys under the command of Conrado de Lansa were

---

Regina Aragonum, et Violante
Regina Castellae filia Domini
Regis Jacobi praedicti, et Archiepiscopo
Terraconae, et multis Episcopis, et
Abbatibus, ac Nobilibus viris.
Hic aedificavit Monasterium Bonifazani,
et fecit multa bona dicto Monasterio Populeti.
Ejus anima requiescat in pace.
AMEN.

There the Conquistador rested until 1835 when, in the disorders of the Carlist wars, the Royal tombs were destroyed by mobs, incited thereto by the decree abolishing all convents. The beautiful monastery of Poblet was reduced to ruins, but enough remains to be still well worth a visit. The tombs of Pedro III, of Jaime II and of the great admiral, Roger de Luria, at Santas Creus suffered the same fate. At Poblet the scattered remains of the kings of Aragon were rescued by the Parish Priest and other inhabitants of Espluga and deposited in the Parish church, and in 1843 Don Pedro Gil, a merchant of Barcelona, was permitted to collect these remains. They consisted of incomplete skeletons and detached bones. They were put into six wooden boxes and taken to Tarragona and finally deposited in the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the cloisters of the cathedral. One complete skeleton, that of Jaime I, is by itself in a handsome coffin. It was identified by its great size and by the mark of the wound in the head Jaime had received in Mallorca. "The King En Jaime of Aragon," says Desclot, "was the handsomest man in the world, taller than any other by a hands-breadth, and all his limbs very well and perfectly shaped; he had a large face, ruddy and bright, and a long straight nose, a large well-shaped mouth, big teeth, beautiful and white like pearls; black eyes, and beautiful red hair, which looked like strands of gold; broad shoulders, a body long and slim, the arms big and well-made, beautiful hands, beautiful big thighs, beautiful straight legs in proportion; long, well-shaped feet." He was famed for his gigantic size. In the partition of Mallorca land was often measured by "arms of the Lord King" of which twenty were reckoned as equivalent to twenty-two of a man of ordinary stature.

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equipped for the expedition. Their success was complete; Busach was set up as King of Tunis, a large tribute of money and jewels was exacted by Pedro and the future good conduct of the Emir assured. Lansa returned along the African coast as far as Ceuta, bringing back a booty which made wealthy men of all who had taken part in the expedition. Boaps took refuge in Bougie and Constantine; he induced both these towns to rebel against Busach and was crowned King of Bougie. This success was the end of the quarrel between the brothers; each thereafter remained in his own kingdom and on the death of Boaps his sons succeeded him, Bosecri as King of Bougie, and Bugron as Lord of Constantine. Bosecri, however, was not satisfied and he prepared to attack his brother. Bugron felt he could not, alone, resist Bosecri and considered that the King of Aragon would be his most powerful ally. He sent word to Pedro that he wished to become a Christian at his hands and invited him to come to Collo, the port of Constantine, promising to give up to him Constantine and all his domain and to become a Christian and the King's vassal. Pedro, having ascertained privately that Bugron was in earnest, prepared a great armada, the object of which he divulged to no one, neither to his sons nor to his knights and notables. King Philip III of France, his brother-in-law, Edward I of England, the Pope—all became apprehensive, and sent messengers to inquire his object of Pedro, but to all he refused any explanation. The Moors in the Peninsula, also, were alarmed; Bugron alone rejoiced. Even when all who were to accompany him had embarked Pedro still refused to tell them whither they were bound. Over a hundred and fifty ships started and, when well out at sea, were ordered to go first to Mahon for provisions. They were

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given sealed orders which were not to be opened until they had left Mahon and were ten miles away from that port. The almojarife of Minorca received the king most humbly, and provided the armada with ample provisions, but the same evening he sent a warning to Bougie and along the African coast. Bugron, at Constantine, could not conceal his satisfaction, and told his plans to a few of his intimates, one of whom revealed the secret. Bugron was seized and decapitated and a message sent to the King of Bougie inviting him to come and take the town and all the country round. This Bosecri accomplished. Pedro only heard of the death of Bugron on landing. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp near Collo and awaited the attacks of the Saracens. He and his knights fought so well that they became masters of the country from Jijelli to Bona. It seemed to Pedro that there had never been so favourable a time for conquering the whole of Barbary, though he did not feel able to do it without assistance. He therefore sent En G. de Castellnou to the Pope to ask for aid by a grant of money and by the proclamation of a crusade against the Infidel. The Pope refused all assistance, and Pedro thereupon gave up his enterprise for what had been, all along, the real object of his great preparations, the conquest of Sicily.

III.

09-1250 The Hohenstaufen Emperor, Frederick II, had inherited the kingdom of Sicily in 1209 through his mother, the Norman Princess Constance, daughter of Roger II, King of Sicily. Roger, the last male of the Norman Dynasty, died in the year 1189 and the Emperor Henry VI claimed the kingdom in virtue of his marriage with Constance. His claim was disputed but he made

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it good by the sword and, after his death, the reign of his son, Frederick II, "The Wonder of the World," was a brilliant and prosperous one for Sicily.

Frederick's son and successor, Conrad, died after a short reign of four years; Conrad's son, Conradin, was a minor and Manfred, Frederick's son by his morganatic marriage with the daughter of Count Bonifazio de Lansa, ruled in Sicily, at first as Regent. Four years later, upon a false rumour of Conradin's death, he was crowned King. Manfred, like Frederick before him, incurred the hostility of the Pope,[1] and in 1263, Urban IV, as Overlord, bestowed the kingdom of Sicily and Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. There followed three years of war, until Manfred was defeated and slain in the battle of Benevent (26th February 1266) and Charles reigned undisturbed over the whole Kingdom, which comprised Sicily, Naples, Apulia and Calabria. 1250-125· 1263 1266

The rule of the French was hard and cruel and after sixteen years of oppression the Sicilians rose in what is known as the Sicilian Vespers, shook off the yoke of Charles and called upon Pedro III of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, to help them and to reign over them. Pedro had seen the accession of Charles with great displeasure and, urged besides by the tears of his wife, he resolved to avenge Manfred and the last of the Hohenstaufens, and make good his own claim to Sicily. When still Infante he had paid a visit at the Court of King Philip III of France, his sister's husband, and the two young men had formed what seemed a firm bond of friendship. Therefore, when considering the chances of a war against Charles, Pedro thought himself in no 1282

[1] All the Popes of those times, except Nicholas III, belonged to the Guelf party and fought the Ghibelin Hohenstaufens.

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danger from France. Meanwhile his brother, King Jaime of Mallorca, came to him with bitter complaints of injury done him by Philip in his domain of Montpellier. The two brothers sent messengers to Philip and an interview was arranged. King Charles, who was to have been present also, sent instead his son Charles, Prince of Taranto, with a message to Philip, begging him to assure his safety from an attack by Pedro. The inter-
1282 view took place at Toulouse and Philip promised to refrain from all interference in Montpellier, confirming his promise by an oath. This oath he broke almost immediately, for by a secret exchange with the Bishop of Maguelonne, he acquired considerable rights in Montpellier and proceeded to that town with a strong force. The notables of Montpellier prepared to resist but were ordered by Jaime to give up their intention. He thought he would be able to induce Philip to keep his promise; but Philip procrastinated with excuse after excuse, and the result of Jaime's weak surrender was that the whole of Montpellier was lost to him.

Still pursuing his plans for the Sicilian war, Pedro concluded a treaty of alliance with Alfonso X, King of Castile, and took measures, not unusual in the Middle Ages, to secure the loyalty of both Alfonso and Sancho, his son. Alfonso was married to Pedro's sister Violante; their two elder sons were Fernando, nicknamed "de la Cerda," and Sancho. Fernando died before his father, leaving two young sons. On hearing of his death, Pedro hurried into Castile with a small retinue, seized the two children and carried them off to the Citadel of Játiva, there to remain in captivity, but to be put forward as claimants to the throne of Castile, should it become advisable to put pressure on Alfonso or Sancho. Soon after, Alfonso caused fealty to be sworn to Sancho

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as his successor and the latter found it to his advantage to fall in with Pedro's plans. With the Moorish King of Grenada Pedro made a truce for five years and the money for the war was collected without difficulty. Then it was, when all was ready, that Pedro started with his great armada for Barbary at the invitation of Bugron and, after failing in his object there, crossed over to Sicily whence he had received urgent calls. He arrived at Trápani on the 28th of August 1282 and 1282
was received with great rejoicings. He was crowned at Palermo whilst Charles was besieging Messina. Pedro summoned all boys and men from fifteen to sixty years old to assemble at Palermo within a month and sent two thousand almugavars to Messina, which they succeeded in entering. Charles, fearing that his followers, when they heard of the strength of Pedro's army, would betray him, as Manfred had been betrayed, fearing also a rebellion in Calabria, crossed to Reggio, whereupon the almugavars fell upon the remainder of his followers, killed them all and plundered their tents; they then went to the dockyards and set fire to over a hundred and fifty galleys which Charles had had built. Pedro followed Charles into Calabria but found that he had abandoned the country, leaving it at the mercy of his enemy who set up governors all over Calabria and Sicily; Roger de Luria was made Admiral for Catalonia, Valencia, Sicily and all the territory conquered and to be conquered; Jaime Pedro, the king's illegitimate son, who had been admiral in command of the armada, returned to Catalonia with his father. Soon after his return Pedro sent the Queen, with the two younger Infantes, to rule in Sicily. They never met again.

Charles had gone to Rome and obtained from the Pope, Martin IV, a Frenchman, help in money and a

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decree of excommunication against Pedro and all his followers. He then went on to Philip, his nephew, asking him also for help and this Philip promised, after the Pope's Legate had declared him absolved, by a papal decree, from the oath sworn to Pedro. From Paris Charles went to Marseilles and put Cornut, his admiral, in command of twenty-five galleys with orders to go to Malta and from there seek out Roger de Luria who, he believed, could not have more than eighteen galleys. Cornut first went to Naples and to Trápani, whence he sent three galleys to scout for news of Luria, giving them rendez-vous at Malta. Luria, who had twenty-one galleys and two smaller boats under his command, was sailing along the coast of Calabria, landing frequently to harry the country. On his way back to Messina, and when nearing the island, he met the three reconnoitring galleys of Cornut, captured them and took them to Messina. Next day he left again to fight Cornut's fleet at Malta. In a fierce battle, Cornut was killed, and all his fleet taken; only one small boat escaped to carry the news to Charles. The island surrendered without further bloodshed, but the Citadel, defended with great gallantry by a handful of survivors, still held out. Luria, seeing that he could not take it, for lack of catapults, raised the siege, determined to renew it when he had the means of carrying it to a successful issue. On his way back to Sicily he took Gozo without much opposition. Both in Malta and in Gozo the notables had propitiated him by gifts of large sums of money. In Sicily he learnt that a numerous fleet was being equipped by Charles at Naples; he, therefore, re-fitted his galleys and upon receiving trustworthy news that the Naples fleet would not be ready for another month, he utilized the respite by sending his galleys

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under the command of Lansa to renew the siege of the Citadel of Malta, whilst he sailed for Trápani to consolidate his previous conquests. At Lipari, which surrendered to him, he learned that thirty-six galleys and many other ships had left Naples for Cefalú. The Citadel of Cefalú was held for King Charles, but the town had rebelled against him, and the object of the Neapolitan expedition was to subdue the town. Luria decided to intercept the enemy fleet; with this intention he set sail, and a great battle was fought off Cape Palinuro in which Charles was heavily defeated (1284). Luria 1284
captured twenty-five galleys and numerous smaller ships. From the many nobles in the Naples fleet, the battle became universally known as the Battle of the Counts. Luria was, in this naval warfare, acting according 1284
to the orders of the Infante Jaime, Pedro's son, and at his bidding, equipped, soon after the Battle of the Counts, a new armada of forty galleys with their accompanying lighter ships for the taking of Ischia, which was considered the key to Naples. He first sailed along the Western coast of Italy, burning or taking and occupying towns and villages. He then placed his fleet in order of battle before Naples, at some distance from the mole. Charles's son, Charles Prince of Salerno,[1] was in command of thirty-eight galleys and a number of lighter ships. Luria, by a feigned flight, drew the Naples fleet out to sea and, when well away from land, turned to meet it. After a fierce fight all the Neapolitan galleys, except the Prince's own, were taken or sunk and Luria himself with many knights, boarded the galley in which the Prince was gallantly defending himself with his sword until, overcome by numbers, he surrendered to the

[1] Muntaner calls him Prince of Taranto, and in Chapter CXIII., Prince of Matagrifon; he is better known by his later title of Prince of Salerno.

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Admiral and agreed to his conditions, namely, the deliverance of a daughter of Manfred, still languishing in the Castle del Uovo, and the surrender of the town and citadel of Ischia. In addition, Luria imposed a toll on all boats and ships entering or leaving the port of Naples and also a tax on the cargoes. To inforce these imposts Luria left four galleys and two smaller ships and two hundred men. He then set sail for Procida and Capri, seized both and returned to Messina laden with booty. The Prince of Salerno was sent a prisoner to the Castle of Matagrifon; the captive nobles were sent to the houses of knights who were responsible for their safe-keeping, and all others were incarcerated in the common gaols; the lowest class were allowed by the Queen to return to their several countries.

Luria's next expedition was to the island of Jerba which he ravaged according to his custom; thousands of Saracen captives, men and women, were carried off to Sicily or sent to Mallorca and Catalonia to be sold into slavery. The next countries visited by the ruthless Admiral were Romania and the Greek islands, and after a short rest in Sicily, Corfu and, lastly, Cephalonia and the Duchy of Artá were ravaged. Only a short time elapsed before Jerba was again visited in the same cruel manner. The unfortunate inhabitants obtained leave from their Suzerain, the King of Tunis, to surrender the island to the Admiral for the King of Aragon, in order to escape further ravages. Luria had a strong fort constructed. Jerba, half-way between Ceuta and Alexandria, was an isolated outpost of the kingdom, in constant danger from the Saracens.

After these expeditions Luria turned his attention to the refitting of his galleys, news having reached him that the King of France was preparing a large fleet.

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After sending off the fleet under Cornut, Charles had striven to obtain adherents in Italy and he was successful in gaining them for himself, and for his successor as well, in Tuscany, in Lombardy, in Apulia, in the Marches, in the Abruzzi and also in Gascony and Languedoc. The Pope supplied him with money, so that he was able to send many of his barons and of his kinsmen and, chief amongst them, his nephew, the Count of Artois, to defend Calabria and equip the galleys at Naples.

Philip III, Charles and the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Panberto, and Philip's two sons, Philip and Charles, met in council at Toulouse. As a result of their deliberations, Prince Charles of Valois, accompanied by the Legate, was sent to the Pope and obtained from him the grant of the kingdom of Aragon; Philip promised to conquer the kingdom for his son. Hostilities began by a raid of four thousand men under Eustache de Beaumarchais, Regent of Navarre. He, however, returned at once when he heard that Pedro was marching to meet him. Charles, meanwhile, made preparations for carrying the war into Sicily. On his way to Naples, however, he lost most of his French followers; wherever they met Catalan and Aragonese forces they were defeated.

Broken by a series of reverses and the hardships 1285
of long years of warfare Charles died at Foggio on the 7th of January 1285. The Prince of Salerno, now King Charles II of Naples, was a prisoner. It was therefore arranged that his three grown-up sons, in conjunction with their cousin, the Count of Artois, were to govern the country until their father's release.

In Catalonia, invaded by Philip III, Pedro was faced by the greatest peril he had encountered yet. King Jaime of Mallorca had conceded all Philip's demands and

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allowed him a free passage through his territory of Roussillon for the invasion of Catalonia. He was not strong enough to oppose him and, had he done so, would, no doubt, have lost that part of his domains. He may have thought that the advantage to Philip was not as considerable as it seemed, for, if Philip had invaded Aragon from Navarre or from Gascony he might have found it easier than from Roussillon. Pedro claimed the help of his nephew, King Sancho of Castile, according to their agreement, but received no assistance from him and found himself without allies. He gathered together a small army, and prepared to defend the Pass of Panisars, through which he expected Philip to come. The fleet of the French was at Colibre; on land their camp reached from Perpignan to Boulou, where they were constantly attacked by the Aragonese. At the end of a fortnight Philip set his host in motion, and took it over the Pass of La Manzana, driving the enemy before him. Pedro, seeing his forces completely defeated, disbanded them. He, his son Alfonso, and the chief nobles, went to Peralada; Philip, with all his chivalry, was at the monastery of Quirico, and there he remained for a week until all his men, horse and foot, with pack-mules and carts, were over the Pass and his fleet in the Port of Rosas. Then he advanced on Peralada. Pedro thought it his best policy to leave the town with his barons, in order to organize the defence of the whole region, with a view to encircling the French army. Five thousand almugavars were left to defend Peralada, but these lawless, undisciplined troops themselves sacked the town and set it on fire. In the morning, the French, realizing what had happened, entered it. Pedro had gone to Gerona, and when Philip followed him there, went on to Barcelona. Before leaving he had fortified the town

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and the surrounding castles so well that the French army was constantly harassed.

Arrived at Barcelona, Pedro turned his attention to the sea. The two admirals who had taken Queen Costanza to Sicily, Ramon Marquet and Berenguer Mallol, did him good service, fighting the French and defeating them in a great battle in the Bay of Rosas in which they captured twenty-five galleys. They were then sent to Sicily to summon Luria to Catalonia, in order to take command of the naval warfare against the French. Luria armed and equipped sixty-six galleys. He used the greatest despatch in order to forestall any news of his sailing which might reach the enemy, and left Messina within a fortnight of the arrival of the king's summons. Marquet and Mallol had informed him that the French had eighty-five galleys at Agua Freda, resting after the Battle of Rosas; the two seamen met Luria with sixteen galleys and together they defeated the French, capturing fifty-four galleys and burning others. The French had enlisted crews from Genoa and Pisa, and these deserted and fled to Italy in their French galleys. Mallol and Marquet parted company with the admiral after the battle and sailed along the coast; they took all the shipping they found at Pálamos and San Feliú and the provisions which the French had accumulated at the latter port.

Luria, meanwhile, had gone to Rosas, where he defeated the French by a stratagem and captured many galleys and other shipping. He then landed, fought and defeated the French once more. His next fighting was again on land; thinking that Philip would not be able to continue the siege of Gerona, he took his men to the Pass of Panisars, there to await Philip on his return to France, in order to share in the booty and provisions he

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expected would be taken. On hearing of this move of the admiral, Pedro also took his forces to Panisars.

It fell out as Luria had expected; Philip left Gerona, which had surrendered to him, and collected his host in the plain of Peralada. It was a greatly reduced army, reduced by sickness as well as by losses in battle. Philip himself was prostrate with illness. He died on his homeward way about half a league from Peralada, in the house of Simon de Vilanova, at the foot of Mount
1285 Pujamilot, on the 30th September, 1285. His son, now King Philip IV, gave orders that his father's death should be kept a secret, but he sent the news privately to King Pedro and begged him to let him pass unmolested into France for his coronation. He assured Pedro that it would be to his advantage that he, Philip, should be King of France, for whilst his younger brother had always been opposed to Pedro and had hoped to supplant him on the throne of Aragon, he himself had disapproved of the war and had been loyal to his uncle. Pedro, therefore, sent word to his brother Jaime to go and meet the new King and to prevent Luria and the almugavars from attacking him. Philip started on his retreat and, not without danger and difficulty, he, with his brother and some of his barons, escorting the body of his father, reached Perpignan in safety. His rearguard, however, was massacred by the almugavars and all the baggage looted.

Pedro did not long survive his brother-in-law. Catalonia being now freed from the French, he prepared to punish the King of Castile for his defection by proclaiming one of Sancho's nephews, still a captive hostage at Játiva, king in Sancho's place. On his way to release the two young princes, however, he fell ill. Feeling his end near he made his will, by which he left Aragon and

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Catalonia to his eldest son, Alfonso, and Sicily to his younger son, Jaime. He died on the 11th November, 1285. 1285

IV.

One of Pedro's last acts had been to send Alfonso to Mallorca for the purpose of defending the island against the intrigues of the Pope; for he had had news from Italy of a conspiracy to make over the island to the French king. Alfonso, therefore, was in Mallorca when his father died. The news was sent to him; the messenger found him and Luria at Torres Lavaneras and they returned to Barcelona. Luria represented to Alfonso that nearly two months must elapse before his coronation, at which he wished to be present, but that this long spell of inaction would be bad for the companies of the galleys, and he obtained leave for another ravaging expedition, directed, this time, against the coast of Provence. He first sacked Serignan, sparing only the church; then seized Agde and went inland to within half a league of Beziers. Aigues Mortes and Narbonne were sacked, and all the country around, until, at last, the time came to attend the coronation and put an end to the plundering and killing of the unfortunate inhabitants. Luria had much property in the province of Valencia. After the coronation he visited his castles, towns and villages, then returned to Sicily, but first went out of his way to ravage once more the coast of Barbary. He landed and went inland and imposed the payment of a yearly tribute on the Moorish tribes, then took his way to Crete, to Romania and to Greece and, in the Morea, defeated the French in battle. He took much booty at Patras, once more sacked Cephalonia, the Duchy and Corfu; thence sailed for Apulia and landed at Brindisi. There the French were

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in overwhelming numbers and the admiral, who had a horse killed under him, went near to being defeated, when the almugavars, breaking their lances short and using them as daggers, threw themselves into the melée and saved the day. Luria, who had fallen with his horse, was raised up by his men and mounted the horse of one of his knights and, after further hard fighting, he remained as victor on the field. He next went to Otranto which was held by his brother-in-law Berenguer de Entenza, there to rest and pay his men and shortly afterwards he returned to Catalonia. He was now a rich and powerful man; the booty he had taken was immense; the sale of innumerable prisoners was another source of wealth and after his last success against the French, the king gave him a great number of castles and villages.

Pedro's second son, Jaime, was crowned at Palermo. His first act as King of Sicily was to send twenty galleys under Berenguer de Sarriá to harry the West coast of Italy, from Cape Palinuro to Sarrento. Sarriá landed in many places to ravage the country inland, burning and killing. He boldly entered the Bay of Naples, captured a number of ships and burnt others. Jaime, at the same time, entered Calabria with a large force and, though some castles held out against him, the greater part of the country accepted his authority. Many Catalans had been settled in the country by the bestowal of castles.

Returned to Messina, Jaime planned a fresh expedition into Italy on a larger scale than ever before. A council was held in the Church of Santa Maria la Nova at which Jaime appointed his mother, the Queen, and his brother Fadrique, Regents in his absence. A few days later he crossed over to Calabria with a large force, and Luria brought his armada of eighty newly equipped galleys and innumerable lighter ships. He joined the

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king who, with his army increased by the ricos hombres, knights and almugavars already in Calabria, embarked, and sailed for Salerno. The Count of Artois knew of the great preparations that had been made in Sicily and foresaw that the objective would be Naples and Salerno. With the aid of the Pope he assembled a large force in those places. The campaign began as usual by the harrying of the coast. The first victims of the fierce almugavars, who were landed for the work of destruction, were the places which had survived Sarriá's raid. At Naples Luria succeeded in capturing much shipping; after three days he went to visit Ischia and on to Gaeta, which he besieged. The town was strongly defended and the siege proved a long one.

V.

After his coronation at Saragossa Alfonso's first care was to take up his father's plans of revenge against King Sancho of Castile. He sent his brother, the Infante Pedro, into Castile at the head of a strong force, with instructions to burn and destroy all places that did not surrender to him for Sancho's nephew, the Infante Alfonso de la Cerda. The king himself went to Játiva to fetch the two young princes, intending to join Pedro in Castile with them. In true knightly manner he had first sent a challenge to Sancho. All did not fall out as he had planned. The Infante Pedro fell ill at Calatayud and Alfonso thought it best to forego the preliminary expedition and to enter Castile at once with the two young Infantes, at the head of both his own and Pedro's army. When he reached Calatayud he found Pedro worse; he therefore confided the vanguard to the Infante Alfonso de la Cerda. Many towns surrendered and

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accepted the Infante as king and the campaign was going well for Aragon, when news came that the French king was making great preparations in Languedoc for an invasion of Catalonia. Alfonso returned at once and assembled his men at Peralada. His brother Pedro, who had recovered from his illness, was made Regent of Aragon and was given the task of defending the kingdom, whilst Alfonso made an incursion into Roussillon to discover what was being done there. This move proved enough to stop any intention of invasion on the part of Philip and Alfonso returned to Barcelona where, before long, he received overtures of peace from two sides. First came a messenger from the Pope and Philip to propose peace and to offer to Alfonso one of the French king's daughters in marriage, in exchange for the deliverance from prison of King Charles II of Naples. Whilst negotiations were going on, a messenger of King Edward I of England arrived with a proposal for a marriage between his daughter and Alfonso. Edward, thus closely connected with him, would become the mediator between him and Holy Church, the King of France and King Charles and all would enjoy the blessings of peace. Both the messengers saw that Alfonso inclined to the English alliance; the Pope's messenger, Bonifazio de Salamandrana, gave way and agreed with Edward's messenger, Jean de Grailly, to support the proposals of the English king. An interview of the two sovereigns at Oleron was arranged, at which the English Queen and her daughter were present and the royal engagement was celebrated with great festivities. The result of the negotiations which took place was that the King of Aragon received one hundred thousand silver marks from Charles, which Edward lent for the purpose; that Charles was set free on promising, on the oath of a King

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that, within a time which was fixed, he would agree to a treaty of peace between himself, the Pope and the French King on one side and Alfonso on the other; and that, until such time, his three sons and twenty ricos hombres, should be held in prison as hostages. Edward stood surety for the pact. When all this was settled, Alfonso took leave of the Queen and her daughter, his betrothed, with an exchange of many jewels, and returned to Aragon. accompanied by Edward as far as the frontier.

Charles went to Marseilles whence he sent three of his five sons and twenty nobles of Provence to Barcelona. They were incarcerated as hostages at Ciurana. He then, assisted with men and money by the Pope and by Philip, went to Gaeta, joined there by his eldest son, Charles Martel. Aware of the overwhelming numbers of King Charles's army, Jaime, who was still besieging Gaeta, avoided a battle and strongly entrenched himself in front of the town. For a long time the besieging army was itself besieged, until, at last, Charles proposed a truce with a view to concluding peace. The conditions were settled; Charles returned to Naples and Jaime to Sicily where, before long, he received a request from Alfonso to send him Luria with forty armed galleys to join him in the conquest of Minorca. Nov. 1288

VI.

The action of the almojarife of Minorca in sending notice to the Moors of Pedro's expedition to Barbary had not been forgotten, but chastisement had been postponed to a favourable opportunity. This seemed now to have come. Luria brought his forty galleys to Barcelona, where the forces embarked. They arrived at Mallorca about the 12th of December. The winter

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was the coldest ever known; the hardships from storm, rain and cold were such as had never before been experienced by these men, some of whom lost fingers through frostbite. Christmas was kept at Mallorca and then Alfonso and his army went on to Minorca. The elements were still unpropitious; a violent storm scattered the fleet and only twenty galleys arrived together. The storm lasted a week, at the end of which time it was, at last, possible to land; the rest of the armada arrived by twos and threes. The almojarife, who had received strong reinforcements from Barbary, assembled his forces in the citadel of Mahon. Alfonso, against the advice of the Admiral, decided not to await the arrival of all his knights, but to advance at once. The almojarife, with his men in battle array, descended from the citadel and the antagonists met on level ground near by. The battle was fiercely contested; it ended with the victory of Alfonso; the almojarife with a score of his relations, fled to the citadel, his followers were massacred. Seeing further reinforcements reach Alfonso, he offered to surrender the citadel and also the town of Ciutadela, on condition of being allowed to pass over into Barbary with his relations and their families. Alfonso would thus gain the whole island without further resistance; he therefore readily consented. After the departure of the almojarife, he went to Ciutadela and there he took all the Moorish women and children and the few remaining men and put them in the keeping of Ramon Calbet with licence to sell them. Their number was estimated at forty thousand souls. The greater number was sent to Mallorca, others to Catalonia and to Sicily; everywhere they were sold by public auction, with whatever goods they still possessed. Before returning to Barcelona Alfonso ordered a strongly-fortified

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town to be built and the island was peopled with Catalans brought over from the Peninsula. Luria returned to Sicily; on the way a storm dispersed his galleys, some to the coast of Barbary, some to the Principality of Taranto, the Admiral himself was in great danger of shipwreck, but escaped and arrived safely at Trápani where all the galleys rejoined in time. King Alfonso and the admiral led a joyous life travelling about in Calabria and the Principality.

On his return from the conquest of Minorca, Alfonso visited his dominions and, in the course of his journeyings, paid a visit to his cousins, Alfonso and Fernando de la Cerda, who were prosecuting successfully their war against Sancho. Messengers constantly reached King Alfonso from the Pope and from the kings of England and France with offers of peace. Edward was the most urgent in this, for he wished the marriage of his daughter and Alfonso to be celebrated in the following year. The messages became so pressing that Alfonso returned to Barcelona and summoned the Cortes to discuss the terms offered. It was decided to send twelve messengers, two ricos hombres, four knights, two citizens, two men of learning and two burgesses. Forty men besides were appointed to discuss the propositions; twice daily the forty members met and daily they submitted their resolutions to the king who made any alterations that seemed good to him. At last the messengers departed, with a suite which amounted to about a hundred persons, and the king and his court remained at Barcelona to await their return. They were well received at Tarascon, where the terms of peace were discussed. The result was satisfactory to Alfonso and his marriage was now to take place. Death, however, intervened; Alfonso was attacked by a swelling of glands; he would not

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give up his jousts and tourneys until it was too late, and
1291 he died on the 18th of June 1291, leaving the kingdom to his brother Jaime.

VII.

Again, as on the death of Pedro, the heir to the throne was absent from the country. Messengers were at once sent to him; the Count of Ampurias, accompanied by many ricos hombres, knights and burgesses, proceeded to Sicily. Arrived at Messina, where they found the Queen Mother, Jaime and the Infante Fadrique, the Count requested that a General Council be summoned. After a mourning of two days the Council assembled in the Church of Santa Maria la Nova and the Count first read aloud the testament of King Pedro by which the crown devolved on Jaime, in the event of Alfonso dying without leaving children; he then read the testament of King Alfonso, which also left all his dominions to Jaime.

Jaime announced that he would go to Catalonia to take possession of his kingdom as soon as he had settled the government of Sicily, Calabria and all their dependencies. With this object he summoned the ricos hombres, knights and syndics of cities and towns to Messina; he charged them to look upon the Queen as their sovereign lady and appointed the Infante Fadrique Regent. All this done he departed for Catalonia, accompanied by the Count of Ampurias and by Luria. The coronation took place at Saragossa. When the coronation festivities were over, Alfonso de la Cerda came to beg for a continuation of the assistance he had always received from the late King. Jaime promised to support his claim and Don Alfonso returned to Castile rejoicing. Jaime, however, was not inclined to fight

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in his support, and when Sancho sent conciliating messages and offers of some of his towns in expiation of the injury done to King Pedro, Jaime received the messengers graciously and refused to take advantage of the offer of towns, and requested that adequate territory should be given instead to Sancho's two young nephews. After the interchange of many messages peace was concluded. The de la Cerda Infantes renounced their claim, which they knew they could not press without the assistance of Jaime, and declared themselves satisfied with the territory given them. The two kings met at Soria in Castile and the return visit was paid at Calatayud in Aragon; at each of these places there was much feasting.

When his Castilian guests had departed, Jaime proceeded to the settling of his kingdom. He travelled all over it and established good order everywhere. A previously unknown security reigned in the land. Even amongst the barons, who were accustomed to wage constant warfare with each other, he established peace and concord and he suppressed the lawless factions in the towns. In Tortosa, for instance, there were constant faction fights. In order to obtain power to punish their authors, he made an exchange of territory with the Knight Templars and with Guillermo de Moncada who owned a third of the city. He employed the same method in many other places. When he had thus pacified the country, he sent Luria to Sicily, charging him always to hold fifty galleys ready in case of need, and to visit all the domain of the Kingdom of Sicily and of Calabria jointly with Fadrique. Luria, according to his wont, harried the coast of Barbary on his way.

King Charles was now desirous of peace with Aragon and, as a first step, consulted the Pope, who declared that to conclude peace was the wisest thing

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he could do, considering the great power of King Jaime, who had all Spain at his orders and the King of England on his side, as well as all Languedoc. Bonifazio de Salamandrana was charged with the negotiations. He and a Cardinal accompanied Charles to Paris where they found Philip and his brother, Prince Charles, who called himself King of Aragon. Philip was favourably disposed, but Charles demurred, unwilling to give up his claim to the kingdom which Martin IV had conferred on him. In the end he gave way for a big price, obtaining the County of Anjou from King Charles, in exchange for his rights to Aragon. After further prolonged negotiations peace was concluded on the 20th of June,
1295 1295. The terms were that the Pope absolved Jaime and his followers from guilt in the deaths they had caused and in all they had taken from their enemies, and conferred Sardinia and Corsica on him. King Charles, for Prince Charles, renounced all claim to Aragon and gave his eldest daughter, Blanca, in marriage to Jaime who, for his part, renounced the Kingdom of Sicily without, however, handing it over to Charles or to Holy Church. They were free to take possession of the island if they wished. Charles received back his sons and the other hostages imprisoned in Catalonia.

That Jaime had no intention of letting Sicily pass into the hands of the Princes of Anjou is shown by the orders he gave to his Chief Justice in Sicily, Ramon Alamany and to Vilaragut, the Portrieve, about the evacuation of all castles, towns and villages. They were to be evacuated, yet not to be handed over to anyone, but in every place, as soon as it was empty, they, standing at the gates with the keys in their hands, should shout loudly three times: "Is there anyone here who will receive this Castle on behalf of the Holy Father and

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Holy Church ? " No one appeared to answer this summons, as no notice had been given ; the authorities left and, as soon as they were gone, the people of the place returned and took over castle or town for thè Infante Fadrique. The ricos hombres, knights and burgesses then invited the Infante to be their king, according to his father's will, and he was crowned at Palermo on the 3rd May, 1296. This, of course, meant war with King 1296
Charles of Naples. Jaime made two fruitless journeys to Rome to see the Pope and enlist his help in arranging a peace between Fadrique and Charles. He was received kindly by Bonifacio VIII, but Fadrique refused all offers of peace and war broke out again.

Catania had surrendered to Robert, eldest son of Charles II, and so had Paterno, Aderno and other inland places. He had a strong force in Sicily and received, besides, reinforcements from France, as well as from Italy, under the command of his brother, the Prince of Taranto who brought twelve hundred armed horse, French, Provençal and Neapolitan. In a great battle in which King Fadrique fought in person, the Prince of Taranto was defeated and sent, a prisoner, to Cefalú. It was a serious defeat for the Pope and for King Charles. The Papal Treasury was nearly exhausted. An appeal was sent to Philip, begging him to send his brother, Charles of Valois, to the assistance of Duke Robert in Sicily. The Pope promised to furnish the pay of whatever numbers were sent and begged for at least five thousand knights. Prince Charles undertook the expedition willingly and proceeded at once to enlist a force.

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VIII.

About this time, Roger de Flor, an adventurer who was to have a remarkable career, offered his services to Duke Robert. He was the son of a German falconer who had come to Italy with the Emperor Frederick II and had married, at Brindisi, the daughter of a rich citizen of that flourishing port; he was killed in the battle of Tagliacozzo when Roger, the younger of his
Aug. 23 1286 two sons, was but a year old. His widow and children were left in penury, for the victor seized all that had belonged to his opponents. Some years later Roger, then eight years old, attracted the attention of a French Templar, Frey Sergeant Vassayll of Marseilles, who was spending the winter at Brindisi in command of a ship of the Templars. When he left Brindisi he took Roger with him and the boy soon became an expert mariner. At fifteen he was reputed an excellent seaman and at twenty he was in command of Vassayll's ship. He received the mantle of the Order of the Templars and was made a Frey Sergeant. Soon after he had become a brother, the Templars bought a ship from the Genoese, one of the
1291 biggest then built; they called it the "Falcon" and gave him the command of it. He was at Acre when that town was taken by the Saracens, and saved many women and children on that occasion, not without great gain to himself, for which he was denounced to the Grand Master as having kept for himself a great part of the Treasure of the Templars. The Grand Master confiscated all his property and would have arrested him, but he heard of the intention in time, left his ship at Marseilles and escaped to Genoa. There, with borrowed money, he built a galley which he called the "Oliveta," armed it and took it to Duke Robert at Catania. He

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was badly received and departed in dudgeon for Messina, where King Fadrique received his offer of services graciously and made him a member of his household, with liberal pay. After a few days he left on an expedition which proved very successful. With the gains of his numerous captures at sea, he put ample provisions into many of Fadrique's towns, remitted one thousand onzas in Carlinos to the king, gave good pay to the soldiers under him, and by no means neglected his own interests. He was very open-handed, lavishing money on the ricos hombrês, and their dependants, making thereby powerful friends. Fadrique appointed him Vice-Admiral of Sicily, a member of his Council, and gave him the castles of Tripi and of Alicata and the revenues from Malta. Another piratical expedition throughout the Mediterranean brought him greater riches than ever.

Duke Robert was besieging Messina and pressing it hard. Fadrique sent two nobles with seven thousand horse and two thousand almugavars to the relief of the city. They planned an attack on the besiegers at Matagrifon, combined with a sortie from Messina, but when, at break of day, they advanced towards Matagrifon, they found that the Duke and all his army had raised the siege and had returned to Catania, for he had heard of the advance of the relieving force and knew besides that Roger had sent ten galleys laden with wheat to the city which had thus been saved from famine. Prince Charles of Valois was thereupon sent to Sicily with four thousand knights he had enlisted and who were paid by the Pope. His force was a mixed one, as the Prince of Taranto's had been, and quarrels frequently occurred between the men of the different nationalities. When he landed at Termini, a fight between Latins, Provençals and French, resulted in the death of over a thousand of his men.

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From Termini he went on to besiege Sciacca. Fadrique was only thirty leagues away, at Calatabellota, with many of his nobles, the Count de Ampurias, the Count de Squilace, Berenguer de Entenza, Moncada, Don Sancho, brother of Fadrique, Frey Roger, Micer Mateo de Termini, Conrado Lansa, all eager to go to Sciacca and capture Prince Charles and the Duke. Fadrique, however, did not consent and, encouraged by this refusal, Prince Charles asked for an interview and, after some negotiations between the two cousins, Duke Robert and a few others were called in also and a peace was finally signed by the terms of which Fadrique gave up Calabria and all his domain in Italy to King Charles who, in turn, ceded to him all his claim to Sicily and gave him his third daughter, Leonor, in marriage. Her sister Blanche had married King Jaime of Aragon. Prince Charles' son, the Duke of Salerno, was taken out of his prison at Cefalú and given up to his father. The marriage of
1302 Fadrique and Leonor was celebrated in May 1302 at Messina and, on the same day, Bonifacio VIII raised the interdict he had imposed on the country and absolved every man of the sins committed in the war.

IX.

The Grand Company.

A state of peace did not suit Frey Roger; he feared, too, that the Grand Master of the Temple might claim him from the Pope and, as he had made enemies of King Charles and of Duke Robert, it was safer for him to
1302 leave the country. With Fadrique's leave he sent two knights to Constantinople to offer his assistance against the Turks who were threatening Constantinople. His terms were: Good pay for his followers, for himself

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the title of Grand Duke of the Empire and the hand of Maria, niece of the Emperor and daughter of the King of the Bulgars. He doubted not of the acceptance of his terms, confiding in the renown he enjoyed at the Imperial Court when he was in command of the 'Falcon,' and knowing the necessities of the Emperor, Andronicus II Palaelogus, hard pressed by the Turks. The foremost nobles in Sicily joined Roger de Flor. The title of Grand Duke of the Empire which was at once granted to him, gave him authority over all soldiers, over the Admiral of the Empire, over the fleet, and over all islands of Romania and places on the coast. The Emperor sent him the baton of the Grand Duke, and the cap belonging to the rank, the like of which no one else might wear. The newly made Grand Duke went to Romania with two thousand five hundred armed knights, over four thousand almugavars and one thousand soldiers on foot, besides the crews and armed men in the ships, all Aragonese and Catalans. Nearly all brought their families. He landed at Monemvasia and went on to Constantinople, where his marriage was celebrated without delay. The Genoese in Constantinople, who had hitherto ruled the Emperor, saw the advent of the Catalans with the greatest displeasure and in a riot between them and the Catalans during the marriage festivities, over 3000 Genoese were killed. The Emperor was looking on from a balcony with approval, but when the almugavars went on to Pera to plunder that suburb, in which the Genoese chiefly resided, he induced the Grand Duke to stop them, for he and his nobles had much property there.

After the wedding festivities Roger took his followers, known as the Grand Company, over to Artaqui (Cyzicus), which Skyr Michael, the Emperor's son, had vainly endeavoured to defend. Roger landed unmolested,

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attacked the camp of the Turks next morning at dawn and defeated them. None were spared; all men, and boys over ten years old, were killed, the women and children (the Turks, according to their wont, had their families with them) either killed or sold into slavery. In Constantinople there were great rejoicings over this victory, but neither the Genoese nor Michael joined in them. Michael felt humiliated by a rapid success where he and his Greeks had failed repeatedly, and the seeds were sown then of his envy and hatred of the Grand Duke. Roger prepared to follow up his victory with a campaign in Anatolia, but as he was about to leave Artaqui, on the 1st November, unusually cold and stormy weather set in; the rivers rose and became impassable and he decided to spend the winter in Artaqui. He made Ferran de Ahones Admiral of the Empire and sent him to winter with the fleet at Chios. On the 1st April of
1303 the following year he set out on the campaign in Anatolia. The company captured most of the principal cities. When Tyre was taken the Grand Duke summoned Ahones and the fleet to Ani. They came with further reinforcements of two hundred horsemen and about one thousand almugavars brought by Berenguer de Rocafort who joined Roger at Ayasaluk (Ephesus) with five hundred of his almugavars, leaving the others with Ahones. Rocafort was made seneschal of the host by the Grand Duke and together they went to Ani. After a fortnight at Ani the Grand Duke went north, to the frontier of Armenia, and a battle was fought on the 15th August
1303 1303 at the Iron Gates of Cilicia in which the Turks were again defeated with great slaughter. On his return to Ani the Grand Duke received a message calling him to the assistance of his wife's brothers. His father-in-law, John Asan, King of the Bulgars, had died, leaving his

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kingdom to his two sons, and Asan's brother had risen against his nephews in an attempt to usurp the crown, though he would have gained but an empty title. Andronicus supported the claim of his nephews. War had broken out in which he was being daily defeated and he therefore called upon the Grand Duke to come to his aid. Roger was very reluctant to leave Anatolia which he had cleared of the Turks, but he nevertheless decided to comply with the Emperor's demand and sent to inquire whither he wished him to go. Gallipoli was the place indicated and to that peninsula the Grand Duke took the company. His arrival sufficed to induce the usurper to lay down his arms and retire.

Trouble next arose between the Grand Duke and the Emperor. The latter, called upon to pay the Catalans, ordered coins of inferior value to be minted for the purpose; Roger refused to accept this money. At that time a noble greatly esteemed by him, Berenguer de Entenza, arrived at Constantinople; Roger made over to him the title of Grand Duke and was himself made Cæsar of the Empire. This rank made him almost the equal of the Emperor; he could dispose of the Treasure, bestow donations in perpetuity, impose tribute, and it gave him power over life and death. The new Grand Duke and the Cæsar returned together to the Company at Gallipoli for the winter and arranged to proceed in the spring to Anatolia which Andronicus had conferred on Roger together with the islands of Romania.

Leaving Entenza and Rocafort at Gallipoli, Roger went to Adrianople to take leave of the Emperor's son. He had been warned of the danger he was in from Michael's hatred, but thought himself secure at the head of three hundred horsemen and one thousand foot. Michael received him with demonstrations of friendship

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and entertained him and his followers for several days. In the meanwhile he had summoned Gircon, Chief of the Alans, and Melech, Commander of the Turcopoles, to
Mar. 28 1305 Adrianople, to be the instruments of his treachery. At a banquet, at which Michael in person was entertaining Roger, these men fell upon the Cæsar and killed him and all his retinue and then, issuing forth into the streets, massacred every one of his followers except three, who had taken refuge in a tower and fought so well that Michael, admiring their valour, spared their lives. The Alans were then sent to Gallipoli. They found the Catalans off their guard, captured their horses, and killed over a thousand men; three thousand three hundred men of arms with some two hundred horses, however, escaped and shut themselves up in the town of Gallipoli where they were besieged and suffered many losses in constant fights. Berenguer de Entenza was Commander-in-chief. Against the judgment of the other leaders, he left Gallipoli by sea in an attempt to obtain provisions. He sacked Eregli and carried off a large booty, but on his way back he met a Genoese fleet and allowed himself to be inveigled on board the Commander's galley where he and the men with him were made prisoners. He was first taken to Pera, the Genoese quarter of Constantinople, and soon after to Genoa.

In a council of war it was now decided to defend Gallipoli to the last man; the heroic measure of scuttling every ship still in harbour was carried out, so that no faintheart could hope to get away by sea; nor, in spite of their small numbers, were they afraid to meet the enemy in the open. The first battle was so great a defeat for the Alans that it took the Catalans eight days to collect the booty. The next battle was fought against Michael in person and was another great victory for the

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Catalans, but Michael, though wounded, escaped. After further victories, which gave them Planido and Rodosto, they divided their forces under three chiefs, under Ferran Ximenez at Maditos, Rocafort at Planido and Rodosto, and Muntaner in Gallipoli.

A life without fighting did not satisfy the roving spirit of the Company. They decided that they could not say that they had done enough until they had signally avenged the Cæsar. The women and children were brought back to Gallipoli and the host concentrated there for a new expedition on which they started without delay, but before long they hurried back again on hearing of the siege of Gallipoli by a Genoese fleet under Antonio Spinola. They arrived too late, however, to take part in the energetic defence successfully led by Muntaner.

Entenza, who had been ransomed by the King of Aragon, now arrived and at once there began the fatal rivalry due to the envy and overbearing spirit of Rocafort. Muntaner incurred no little danger in trying to reconcile the two leaders; going from one to the other he often had to pass close to castles held for the Emperor. At last he and the twelve councillors of the host patched up a reconciliation between Entenza and Rocafort.

For seven years the Company had lived on the land without ever sowing or planting. The entire peninsula was devastated and could no longer support the inhabitants. The Catalans decided to transfer themselves to the Kingdom of Salonika and started to march in two divisions. It was an ill-fated march, though arranged so as to separate the forces of Entenza and of Rocafort. By an unlucky chance they met and Entenza, in an endeavour to stop the brawl which ensued, was killed. Ximenez, on seeing that Entenza was killed and that

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the fight continued to the advantage of Rocafort's followers, fled with some thirty horsemen to a castle held for the Emperor and surrendered. It was only when the Infante appeared on the scene that order was restored, but not until over a hundred and fifty horsemen and five hundred on foot of Entenza's Company had been killed. Rocafort saw himself now commander of the whole Company, were it not for the presence of the Infante. Ferrando had been sent by his cousin, the King of Sicily, to command the Catalans as his representative. All had acknowledged him as such, except Rocafort ; by refusing to acknowledge him otherwise than in his own person he suggested to the Infante a position incompatible with loyalty. Ferrando, loyal to his cousin, sailed for Thasos on his return to Sicily.

Rocafort realized that he had alienated the favour of his sovereigns ; he therefore went over to Prince Charles, doing homage to his French Admiral, Chépoi, for him, and making the Company swear fealty to him. To obey Chépoi's orders, however, was far from Rocafort's intention ; the Admiral had to be content with empty words. The tyranny of Rocafort became so intolerable that the Company rose against him, plundered his house, and delivered him into the hands of Chépoi, who put him and his brother on board a galley and took them to Naples. There he handed them over to King Robert, by whom they were shut up in a vault in the Castle of Averna and left to die of hunger.

The Company elected four chiefs from amongst themselves, to govern them until they should have another Head. Walter de Brienne was Duke of Athens. The Duchy had been bequeathed to him by the last of the de la Roche dukes, the childless Guy II, but his succession was disputed by the Despot of Artá, the Lord of Great

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Vlachia and the Emperor. When they prepared to attack him he called the Company to his assistance, who thereupon left Kassandra for the Morea, were well received by Brienne and did him good service. But when, with their help, he had overcome his enemies he, like all their previous employers, wished to be rid of the turbulant freebooters and abruptly dismissed them, refusing to give them even the pay he owed them. They were not the men to suffer this; they turned their arms against him. With a large force of French knights and Greeks, Brienne attacked the Catalans on the banks of the Kephissos and 1311
there suffered a disastrous and final defeat. He himself was killed and with him all but three or four of his knights and barons.

As a result of the battle of Kephissos, the Company remained in possession of the Duchy of Athens. Having been recognized by the King of Sicily when he sent them the Infante Ferrando, they had requested him to appoint one of his sons to rule over them. He had appointed his second son, Manfred, but as he was still a child, a knight, Berenguer Estanyol, was sent to represent him. When Estanyol died after a few years, the king's illegitimate son, Alfonso Federico, replaced him and, upon the death of Manfred soon after, became Chief of the Company.

For many years yet did the Catalans maintain themselves in Greece, but settling down to a more peaceful life, they became less and less warlike. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, they lost most of their territories to a fresh band of adventurers, the Navarrese Company. The Akropolis of Athens was the last to hold out, but on the 2nd May 1388, its brave commander, 1388
Don Pedro de Pau, was forced to capitulate and the fall of the fortress was the end of Catalan rule in Greece.

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X.

Soon after peace had been concluded between Jaime II of Aragon and Charles II of Naples, King Fernando IV of Castile sent a challenge and declaration of war to Jaime, who responded by sending his brother Pedro into Castile with a force of one thousand armed horse and fifty thousand almugavars, whilst he himself, with another large force, prepared to go by way of Murcia. He first rapidly conquered that kingdom, appointed his brother, Jaime Pedro, governor, and returned to Valencia, where news reached him that Pedro had died whilst besieging Leon. The siege was raised and the host returned to Aragon; both sides were ready for peace and it was concluded soon after.

The two kings together then made war on the King of Granada without any decisive results, and the broken truce was renewed. King Fadrique of Sicily was, at that time, involved in war with the Saracens in the island of Jerba. This island had been conferred on Roger de Luria and, after him, on his son young Roger, against whom the inhabitants rebelled. Whilst they were in this state of rebellion they were besieged by the Saracens, sent by the King of Tunis. On the approach of young Roger, the Saracens withdrew to the mainland and he succeeded in pacifying the island. When order was restored he returned to Sicily and died soon after, leaving the island to a young brother, Carlito.

Two factions divided Jerba, that of the Misconas and that of the Moabias, whose quarrels had spread to the mainland of Africa as well. Carlito, after much fighting, succeeded in pacifying the island and returned to Calabria where he died leaving his lands to a son only five years old. The death of Carlito was the signal for a fresh

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rising, this time of the Misconas against the Christians and the Moabias. King Fadrique sent assistance under Jaime de Castellar. On his arrival in Jerba Castellar was persuaded to attack the Misconas prematurely and was defeated and killed. The Governor of the island, Simon de Monteliú, seeing that things were going badly, put a kinsman in command of the castle and went to Europe in search of assistance. It was refused him by the Pope and by King Robert; at last Fadrique consented to send a force on condition that the guardians of Carlito's young son gave up the island and the castle to him and that all the money he advanced was secured on the islands of Jerba and of Kerkenna, which he would hold in pledge until the debt was paid off. When the agreement had been signed, Fadrique ordered eighteen galleys to be armed and sent a hundred horsemen and about fifteen hundred foot under Pelegrin Pati. This force landed at a distance of some five miles from the Castle of Jerba, but instead of advancing at once in good order, they, after landing in the utmost confusion, advanced in irregular bands. Seeing this the Saracens attacked and drove them some twenty-five miles away from the castle. Pelegrin Pati was taken prisoner and most of his men were killed. The Misconas, after this success, were masters of the island under Alef, their Chief, and laid close siege to the castle. Under these hazardous circumstances, Muntaner was entrusted with the task of recovering the island for Fadrique. After fourteen months of hard fighting he utterly defeated Alef, who left Jerba and sent an offer of surrender. The offer was referred to Fadrique. He did not accept it, for he wished to take signal vengeance for all the loss occasioned by the rebels. More men were sent, under the command of Conrado Lansa. To him Alef surrendered, shrewdly surmising that he would get

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better terms from him than from those who had suffered defeat at his hands. The island was pacified, and remained quietly subject to the newly-appointed governor, Ramon Muntaner.

1314 In 1314 war had broken out again between Fadrique of Sicily and the son of Charles II, Robert, King of Naples. Fadrique began the war with a raid into Calabria and took Reggio and many other towns, but Robert, at the same time, had carried the war into Sicily and besieged Trápani. Important reinforcements arrived for Fadrique; his cousin Ferrando, Berenguer de Sarriá, Dalmacio de Castellnou brought considerable numbers of followers. Before long, however, a truce for a year was arranged at the entreaty of the mother and of the wife of King Robert, who were both present at the siege of Trápani. The antagonists were closely related, Robert's mother was the mother-in-law of the Kings of Aragon and of Sicily, and his wife was the cousin of these two kings and the sister of the Infante Ferrando.

The settlement of the truce had occupied Jaime II of Aragon who had been chosen as arbitrator. The war in Sicily being at an end for the present, he decided that the time had come to conquer Sardinia, which had been bestowed upon him by the Pope twenty years previously. His son, Don Alfonso, was put at the head of the expedition, the assistance of the King of Mallorca was obtained and both Aragon and Catalonia were generous in their contributions of men and money. Alfonso sailed from Port Fangós and picked up twenty galleys from Mallorca on the way. He landed at Palmas, in the south of Sardinia, where he was well received and was advised to besiege Iglesias. Whilst he laid his siege, his Admiral, Carrós, took the fleet to Viscount Rocaberti, at the siege of the castle of Cagliari. They

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were joined later by Alfonso, who had taken Iglesias after an arduous siege, in the course of which sickness had made many victims in his army and he had himself nearly died. Cagliari had sent to Pisa for succour and had obtained twelve hundred horsemen (of whom eight hundred were German knights) under Count Nieri. There came also six thousand infantry and many soldiers from Tuscany and Mantua, thirty-six Pisan and Genoese galleys and numerous other ships, bringing men and horses. It was a large force, but it was defeated in battle by Alfonso, who had received reinforcements of ships from his father, to make good his lack of light ships. The Pisans were ready to conclude peace, but Cagliari was holding out and Alfonso made its surrender a principal condition of peace. After long negotiations the agreement come to was that Cagliari should be held by the Commune of Pisa for the King of Aragon, whose vassal the Commune would be; Pisa renounced all claim to Sardinia. The castle of Bonaire, which Alfonso had erected opposite Cagliari, was garrisoned with Catalans, and, being stronger than Cagliari, could overawe it. Sardinia and Corsica were now acquired for the King of Aragon. Alfonso returned to Catalonia.

Whilst the King of Aragon's men under the Infante Alfonso were waging war in Sardinia, King Fadrique of Sicily was again at war with King Robert. At the last peace arranged between them, Reggio and many other towns in Calabria had been put under the guardianship of the Pope, with the understanding that, should war begin again, all these places should be returned to Fadrique and be garrisoned by his men. The Pope, however, waited but a short time before he delivered them all into the hands of Robert, giving him thereby an immense advantage on the renewal of the war. Feeling

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that Calabria was safe, he sent a large force to Palermo. The city had made such good preparation for defence that after two serious defeats the forces of King Robert gave up the attempt to take it and tried to proceed inland. Defeated and harried everywhere they were obliged before long to return to Reggio.

1325 In this same year, King Sancho of Mallorca died, and was succeeded by the ten-year-old son of the Infante Ferrando. The boy, so dearly loved by Muntaner, was now King Jaime II of Mallorca. Jaime II of Aragon survived Sancho for two years. He died on the 2nd
1327 November 1327, at Barcelona and was succeeded by his son Alfonso, who was crowned at Saragossa on the
1328 3rd April 1328. With his coronation the Chronicle of Muntaner ends.[1]

It is a record of endless warfare of the most ruthless kind; prisoners were left to perish miserably or were sold into slavery; the account of a battle constantly ends with "all who could not escape were killed," and in the captured towns "men, women and children were all killed" or they were handed over to the horrors of slavery.

Yet there are, here and there, instances of chivalrous conduct and Muntaner himself must have been a man of a warm heart and fine feelings. His loyalty and devotion to the House of Aragon were unfailing, though he was not afraid, occasionally, to criticize the King or the Infantes, at least so far as to deplore the unfortunate results of following bad advice. He shows the generosity of his mind by his admiration of Charles of Anjou and other adversaries; he was always ready to spend of his

[1] The preceding short account of four reigns is mainly a résumé of the narrative of Muntaner, without reference to later historians who, in many instances, differ from him.

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own for his prince and for his friends. He would have ransomed Entenza for 10,000 gold hyperpers and, a ransom being refused, gave him a thousand hyperpers with which to alleviate the hardships of his captivity. After the loss of the wealth gained in Romania, he shared the small remnant of it with another captive, the Infante Ferrando. Other instances of his generosity are numerous. He gained the affections of those under his command so thoroughly that, when he was sent back treacherously to the rough and unruly Catalan Company, in the expectation that they, then in open revolt, would kill him, they gave him an enthusiastic reception and entreated him to place himself at their head. No woman could have been more tender than this hardened warrior of some fifty years towards the baby Infante he was taking from Catania to the Dowager Queen at Perpignan, holding him in his arms for two days and a night, for fear of his being injured as the ship was tossing about in a violent storm.

The mediæval custom of reckoning the years from the Incarnation,[1] is apt to create some confusion. Muntaner's dates are always to be taken as years of the Incarnation. Where he speaks vaguely he sometimes goes strangely astray; thus he says that Jaime I was more than eighty years old when he died, whereas, born in 1208 and dying in 1276, he was sixty-eight; he says that the Saracens had ruled Minorca for over a thousand years when they were conquered by the Aragonese and Catalans; that there had been no Cæsar in the Eastern Empire for four hundred years when the title was conferred on Roger de Flor; such exaggerations

[1] Reckoning from the Nativity was introduced in Aragon in 1350 and in Castile in 1383. A further difficulty in the exact ascertaining of dates is that, when the change in the reckoning was made, the 25th of December was decreed to be the first day of a new year, and that day was not altered to the 1st January until the year 1514.

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are not unusual in mediæval chronicles. One of Muntaner's favourite literary forms is the dialogue; he reports verbally conversations at which he could not have been present and which are very unlikely to have been repeated to him. The drift of them, however, was no doubt much discussed at the time and the form gives animation to his story. Not less vivid are his descriptions of ceremonies and, above all, of battles; many of these descriptions bear the mark of an eye-witness and a participator. In spite of the ferocity of the age, of which he must have had his share, and of his indignation with the Pope who was invariably on the side of the enemies of Aragon, Muntaner shows deep religious feeling. He constantly recognizes the Divine interposition in the happy issue of an undertaking and renders thanks to God, and, in the Prologue expresses, his gratitude to the Almighty, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints for his deliverance out of many perils, captivities and other tribulations, and for bringing him safely out of thirty-two battles by land and by sea. He had a great regard for truth, saying more than once that he does not wish to put down anything of the truth of which he is not certain; but he had the easy credulity of the time, believed the popular legends and no doubt accepted rumours and reports without much sifting. Though his standard of morality was probably not higher than that of his age it was, perhaps, out of loyalty that he passed over in silence crimes and cruelties of the Conquistador of which he must have been fully aware. How he understood loyalty, not only personal, but to all in authority, he declares in Chapter CCLXXXII. "Whose guilt it was" (that war broke out anew) "it is not for me to decide, for, concerning such lords one should speak nought but all the good he knows."

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A comparison of the Chronicle with the accounts of the same reigns by the Spanish historians, shows many discrepancies, some important, some trivial. Muntaner not only says nothing of the great struggle between the king and the nobles, of the frequent rebellions of the sons of the king, the dissensions between Royal brothers. Far from chronicling these, he breaks out into enthusiastic eulogies of the loyalty of princes and nobles, of the virtues of the king and of the excellent sons God had given him; he calls 'wise' the fatal partitioning of the kingdoms by the Royal testaments. In spite of these aberrations of an excessive loyalty, Muntaner's Chronicle is a document of great interest; he is an important witness to the happenings of his time and his testimony cannot be lightly rejected.

One of the chief differences between Muntaner and the Spanish historians is in the account of the relations between Pedro III and his brother, Jaime, King of Mallorca. According to Lafuente[1] Pedro, much the more powerful king, forced Jaime to do homage and swear fealty to him, thereby arousing deep resentment in Jaime, who turned traitor and joined the King of France, assisting him in his invasion of Catalonia. Muntaner gives a different account and records the opinion of his time: that, in agreement with Pedro, Jaime, too weak to resist, submitted to the demands of Philip who could at any time have seized his domains of Roussillon, Conflans, and Cerdagne. A small point, at a later date, is that Lafuente makes Pedro in Sicily send for the Queen and his two younger sons and, having made over to her the Government of the island, return to Barcelona, whereas Muntaner gives, in great detail, an account of the leave-taking of the King and Queen

[1] *Historia General de España.*

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at Barcelona and of the departure of the Queen for Sicily. This is one of the descriptions which read like that of an eye-witness. Muntaner gives an account of two naval battles off Naples in 1284; one the celebrated battle of the Counts, the other, a few months later, in which the Prince of Salerno was taken prisoner. Lafuente speaks only of the battle of the Counts and, according to him, it was then that the Prince of Salerno was taken prisoner. All French and Spanish historians say that Philip III, returning from his ill-fated expedition into Catalonia, died at Perpignan. Muntaner is alone in saying that the death of Philip took place at the foot of the Pujamilot near Vilanova, barely half a league from Peralada. He even gives the name of the knight in whose house the French king died. It is not unlikely that Muntaner was there with the forces of Pedro and that he watched the funereal cortége he describes so picturesquely.

Of the stories of the removal of the two de la Cerda Infantes from Castile, the more accurate seems to be that of the later historians, who say that the children's grandmother, the Dowager Queen of Castile, took them and their mother secretly to Aragon, to place them under the protection of Pedro, her brother. Muntaner says the King of Aragon kidnapped them by a sudden raid, and he does not mention the Queen and her daughter-in-law.

Widely different also are the reasons given for the burning of Peralada on the approach of the French army. The historians call it a deliberate act, decided on the advice given by Rocaberti, the Lord of Peralada, on strategic grounds. Muntaner, a citizen of Peralada, attributes the catastrophe to the almugavars left behind by the king who, in their anger at missing the booty they might have gained outside, destroyed the town.

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XI.

Muntaner was born at Peralada in the year 1264. This date, which has been contested, is clearly correct, as is shown in the Prologue in which Muntaner states that he began his book in the year 1325 (Incarnation) at the age of sixty. The Barcelona edition gives 1335 as an alternative, and Bofarull accepted this later date as the correct one, forgetting evidently that Muntaner says (in Chapter XXIII) that he remembers well seeing, at Peralada, the King and Queen of Castile, who spent two days in his father's house "I being then a lad" (*fadri*). They were on their way to the Council of Lyons, and if Muntaner was sixty in 1335 (Incarnation) he would have been born in the year of the Council, *i.e.*, A.D. 1274, and he could not claim, as he does, to have been a witness of the Royal sojourn at Peralada. Bofarull considered the date of 1274 confirmed by the statement of Muntaner in his Prologue that he was not eleven years old when he left Peralada. Bofarull assumed that this was when the almugavars burnt that town to the ground (1285), but Muntaner merely says, on that occasion, that he never returned to Peralada, having lost the greater part of his property there. As he speaks of *his* property, it may be inferred that his father had died previously, that he had inherited the paternal house and was no longer a child. In the Prologue he does not refer to the burning of Peralada.

That he was greatly valued and trusted by the King and the Infantes is evident, and also that he became prominent amongst the knights through personal merit, He is never egotistical but a great deal about his life can be learned from his narrative.

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He was present when Pedro, still Infante, visited Philip III in January 1275, and the two brothers-in-law swore a close friendship, a friendship which was betrayed by Philip a few years later. He tells how he saw the two princes quarter each other's arms with their own. Later, in 1280, after the interview at Toulouse, he saw the Prince of Taranto enter Perpignan, riding side by side with the King of Mallorca. During the siege of Messina by Duke Robert, Muntaner was Constable in command from the Tower of Santa Clara to the Royal Palace; he had an arduous task, repulsing constant attacks, as his was the hardest pressed part of the town.

At the beginning of his account of the wonderful career of Roger de Flor, he says that no one is better entitled to recount these momentous adventures than he is, for he was Roger's Procurator General in Sicily during his prosperity and took part in all his most important undertakings by land and by sea, "therefore you must believe me rather than anyone else."[1]

He helped in the drawing-up of the letters which Roger sent to Andronicus II, containing the conditions on which he offered his assistance against the Turks; and he went with him on the famous expedition of the Catalan Company to Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Greece. He was one of the leaders and, as he occupied important posts, he speaks more of his own share in events than at any previous time, and much can be gathered about his life thenceforward to the end of the Chronicle.

1305 When Roger went to Adrianople, where he fell a victim to the hatred of Michael Palæolagus, Muntaner remained at Gallipoli with the greater part of the Company and he was Governor of the town, when it was

[1] Moncada (died 1635) founded his *Expedicion de Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos* on Muntaner's account.

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besieged by order of Michael. Entenza was Commander-in-chief and Rocafort Seneschal of the host.

In spite of Entenza's failure to bring succour to the town,[1] complete victory over the Alans made the Catalans masters of the country; they led, for a time, a more settled life. Gallipoli, an important commercial town, was their Head Quarters for seven years after the death of the Cæsar, and all supplies of arms and stores were kept there. Muntaner was Chancellor and Comptroller as well as Governor; all the clerks were under his orders and, most important of all, the Great Seal was in his keeping. When the fighting men departed on their new enterprise Muntaner was left in command at Gallipoli with only a hundred and thirty-three foot and seven armed horse and with a very large number of women. He put the women into armour, divided them into groups, each group under the command of a Catalan, and posted them, well armed, on the walls, to assist in the defence against a new danger.

A Genoese fleet under Antonio Spinola had arrived at Constantinople for the purpose of escorting the Emperor's third son to his recently inherited marquisate of Montserrat. He proposed to the Emperor to fight the Franks in Romania, on condition of a marriage between the Marquis of Montserrat and the daughter of Apicino Spinola. Andronicus agreed at once, and Spinola arrived with two galleys under the walls of Gallipoli, bringing the customary challenge to which Muntaner gave a spirited answer. All proper forms complied with, a fleet of twenty-five galleys appeared before Gallipoli and prepared to attack. Muntaner had made careful arrangements, not only for the actual fight, but also for the

[1] See page lxviii.

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food and drink of the men who, he well knew, would not have time to go to their homes for meals, and he provided also for the wounded, not only from humane considerations but from the desire as well that the lightly-wounded should return to the fight as quickly as possible. Then, mounting his horse and accompanied by a few knights, he rode along the shore to prevent a landing. Some way from the town, however, the men of ten of the galleys succeeded in landing. As Muntaner was hurrying towards them his horse fell with him; he hastily mounted another, but not before he and his horse had received thirteen wounds between them. In the end victory remained with him and his men. Antonio Spinola and over six hundred Genoese were killed; but the victors were too exhausted to prevent the escape of the galleys with the survivors. Rocafort and Ximenez, on hearing of the siege of Gallipoli, hastened back, but only arrived in time for the thanksgiving for the victory.

1309 When in 1309 the Company found it impossible to remain in the Peninsula of Gallipoli, owing to the ruin wrought by themselves, Muntaner first carried out the task of burning and destroying the castles of Gallipoli and Maditos, and then returned to take charge again of the women and children and to remove them by sea. He embarked them in thirty-six ships, galleys, armed barques and other vessels. On his way to Christopol he arrived at Thasos on the same day as the Infante Ferrando, who begged him to return with him to Sicily. He at once acceded to the Infante's request, only stipulating that he be allowed first to hand over to the Company the women and children under his care. This he carried out and then left the Company who, a curse to every district they occupied, were now devastating Kassandra

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as they had devastated the districts around Gallipoli, Constantinople and Adrianople.

After sacking several of the smaller islands, Ferrando, accompanied by Muntaner, arrived at Negroponte. There, imprudently trusting the Venetians, he went to the town, in spite of the remonstrances of Muntaner and others. He had obtained a safe conduct from the barons of the island for himself and his followers, but no sooner had he landed than the Venetian galleys attacked the Catalan ships, and more especially Muntaner's, who was reputed to have carried off immense treasure from Romania. Many were killed, and so, no doubt, would Muntaner himself have been, had he not landed with the Infante. They were both taken prisoners; the Infante was sent to the Duke of Athens at Thebes, but Muntaner was sent back to the Company, in the expectation that he would be killed by order of Rocafort and that there would be none left to claim the treasure taken out of his galley. This expectation was not fulfilled; he was so popular with the Company, and especially with the Turcopoles, that they entreated him not to leave them but to put himself at their head. The Turks sent him twenty horses and a thousand gold hyperpers and the Turcopoles as many; everyone sent him presents, even Rocafort himself. Muntaner, however, in his loyalty to the House of Aragon and all its branches, refused to stay. Rocafort who knew that, by his conduct towards Ferrando, he had lost the favour of the kings of Mallorca and of Sicily, had gone over to the Venetians and had accepted, as commander, for himself and the Company, the French Admiral Chépoi who, at the time, commanded the Venetian fleet in those waters.

So Muntaner departed and went first to Negroponte

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to try and recover his property. But, in spite of fine words and promises, his efforts were fruitless and, giving up all hope of restitution, he went to Thebes to see the Infante. He offered to share his captivity; Ferrando, however, was anxious to send him to Sicily with letters and messages, and Muntaner left him after two days, "his heart," he says, "nearly breaking with grief." He left the Infante some of the scanty remnant of his fortune, interviewed the cook, and made him swear on the Gospels that he would not put poison into the food of the royal prisoner, adding the gift of his valuable coat as a further incitement to fidelity.

On his arrival in Sicily Muntaner, letters and messages duly delivered, bethought himself of his private affairs, and asked leave to go to Valencia for his marriage to the girl who had been affianced to him when she was still a child, ten years before. Leave was granted, and he was sent for to Montalbano, as the King, who was spending the summer in the mountains, wished to entrust to him some jewels for the Queen of Aragon and the Infantes. Muntaner, after fitting out a ship, and having purchased everything required for his wedding, went to Montalbano and in a crowded court was urgently pressed by the King to take immediate command of an expedition for the subjection of the rebellious island of Jerba, the King promising that, if Muntaner returned victorious, he would then send him to Catalonia, to be married with much greater splendour than he would be now. The Saracens of Jerba had defeated one knight after the other; every one of them had had to return ignominiously, and none was disposed to undertake the task of reducing the island to obedience. The king declared that he appealed to Muntaner for many reasons: because of his great experience in warfare; because he

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had for a long time held command over men; because he knew the rebels' language and could speak to them without an interpreter; and so, for these and many other good reasons, he begged him to consent to be appointed Governor of Jerba. Such an appeal could not be refused and Muntaner departed on his expedition. At the end of a month he had reduced some three hundred Moabias and their families to submission, but fighting went on until, more than a year later, the Saracens had been driven to a corner of the island, cut off from all comunication with the mainland and forced by famine to surrender.

Muntaner was now able to proceed to Valencia for his marriage. He left his cousin, Juan Muntaner, to govern the island in his absence, but he soon returned, bringing his bride, and for the three following years he had the, to him, unusual experience of a life without warfare.[1] 1311

In the year 1314 war broke out again between the King of Sicily and the King of Naples. Muntaner was warned that the latter was about to send a fleet to Jerba; he therefore, in expectation of a siege, sent his wife and two small children and many women to Valencia where they arrived safely after thirty-three days at sea. The siege, however, was not undertaken; Carrós and his fleet were sent to Trápani instead, where they were more urgently required. 1314

During the armistice which had been obtained by the efforts of the two Queens,[2] Ferrando continued to live at the Sicilian Court and there married Isabel, grand-daughter of Guillaume de Villehardonin and daughter of

[1] That the year of his marriage was 1311 is made clear by his saying that, when he touched at Mallorca on his return to Jerba, King Sancho had just succeeded his father.

[2] See p. lxxiv.

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Marguerite, Lady of Akova,[1] who laid claim to the Principality of Achaia. In the hope of finding a champion in her son-in-law, she made over her barony of Akova to Isabel, and also her much disputed claim to Achaia, a claim now reduced to one-fifth of the Principality. Ferrando at once enlisted a force with which to secure his wife's rights, and only awaited the birth of their expected child before starting for the Morea. Muntaner, at Jerba, heard of these preparations and, eager to join the Infante, obtained leave from the King of Sicily, his Suzerain, to hand back the islands to him.
1315 In March 1315 he arrived in Sicily.

Ferrando's son was born in April and little more than a month later the young mother died. Muntaner now expected to accompany the Infante to the Morea, but a very different service was required of him; Ferrando asked him to take his infant son to Perpignan, to the Dowager Queen of Aragon, the child's grandmother. It was a great responsibility, for the journey was full of risk; the little prince would have been a valuable hostage, could his father's enemies have captured him and Muntaner knew that four galleys had been equipped for the purpose. He sailed from Catania on the 1st of August 1315. In order to avoid hostile ships he stopped for twenty-two days at the island of San Pedro; at last he landed at Salou, on the 1st November, after having been on board his ship continuously for ninety-one days. The land journey to Perpignan, broken by a rest at Barcelona, took over a month more. He had been a most tender nurse and had become so attached to the little Infante that when he had to part from him "my grief was so great," he says, "I did not know what to do with myself." He lingered on at Perpignan for a

[1] Always called Matagrifon by Muntaner.

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fortnight, going to see the child every day, until the approach of Christmas recalled him to his family at Valencia. He did not thereafter return to a soldier's life, though early in 1316 he was about to take reinforcements to Ferrando. On receiving a request to bring both horse and foot he had immediately proceeded to enlist the men, spending much of his own money for the purpose; but a fortnight later the task was transferred to another knight who, less prompt than Muntaner, arrived too late. On the 5th July 1316, Ferrando had been 1316
defeated and killed in the battle of Manolada. He was decapitated on the battlefield and his head displayed on the gate of Clarenza. Later his mutilated remains were sent to Perpignan for interment.

When in 1322 Jaime II of Aragon decided to take 1322
possession of Sardinia, bestowed upon him by the Pope in 1295, Muntaner, though not more than fifty-eight years old, was too infirm to take part in the campaign. As an experienced warrior he considered it his duty to place his knowledge at the disposal of his sovereign. With that purpose he sent his advice, in verse, modestly saying that even if it were not all that was wanted yet it must do good by provoking discussion and eliciting further advice. He had the satisfaction of having his suggestions carried out with good effect and only had to deplore two exceptions. He had urged the advisability of having plenty of light galleys for the pursuit of a fleeing enemy. They were not provided and, in consequence, many Genoese and Pisan galleys escaped. The other mistake he regrets is that the Infante in command divided his forces for two simultaneous sieges, instead of concentrating them first on the siege of Cagliari, thereby losing, so Muntaner thought, considerable advantages. "And so, only these two things I regretted

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much, but nevertheless, by the favour of God, all turned out well. But it might have been well and better."

1328 The last mention Muntaner makes of his own life is in the description of the Coronation of Alfonso IV, at which he and five other burgesses of Valencia represented that city with great splendour. They came with fifty horses and a retinue of a hundred and twelve persons, besides the musicians; they were accompanied by their sons and nephews and kept open table throughout the days of the Coronation. When the festivities were over Muntaner returned to Valencia and there wrote the concluding words of the Chronicle he had begun three years before.

The Chronicle of Muntaner is delightful reading. It is a very human document and undoubtedly a valuable historical record.

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PROLOGUE.

In which are recounted the favours God bestowed on the author and bestows on all those who love Him truly.

IN the name of Our Lord the true God Jesus Christ, and His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and of all His blessed saints, Amen. It is the duty of everyone to give thanks to God and to His blessed Mother for His favour and also not to keep it hidden, but rather to manifest it, so that every man take good example by it and endeavour to act and speak well. For, surely, everyone must hold it to be the truth that, to him who acts, thinks and speaks well, God gives good guerdon, and if a man does the contrary, then the contrary happens to him, if he does not amend his ways, so that he turn the evil as well as he can into good; for nothing can be hidden from God. And a saying pleases me, used much in the kingdom of Sicily, which is said when a man is striving with another: *Or layxa anda a fide que Deus te vide.* And so everyone will act wisely who lives in the faith that God sees him, for nothing can be hidden from God.

And therefore it is right that, amongst the rest of the men in the world, I, Ramon Muntaner, native of the town of Peralada and citizen of Valencia, give great thanks to Our Lord the true God and to his blessed

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Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Heavenly Court, for the favour and grace He has shown me and for my escape from many perils I have been in. Such as thirty-two battles on sea and on land in which I have been, as well as in many prisons and torments inflicted on my person in wars in which I have taken part, and many persecutions I have suffered, as well in my fortune as in other ways, as you will understand from the events of my time. And assuredly, I would willingly refrain from recounting these things. But it is meet that I should recount them, and, especially, in order that all should understand that no one could escape from so many perils without the aid and grace of God and of His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary. I wish you to know that when I left the village of Peralada I was not yet eleven years old, and that when I began this book by God's mercy, my age was sixty years, which said book I began on the fifteenth day of May of the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord God Jesus Christ one thousand three hundred and twenty five.

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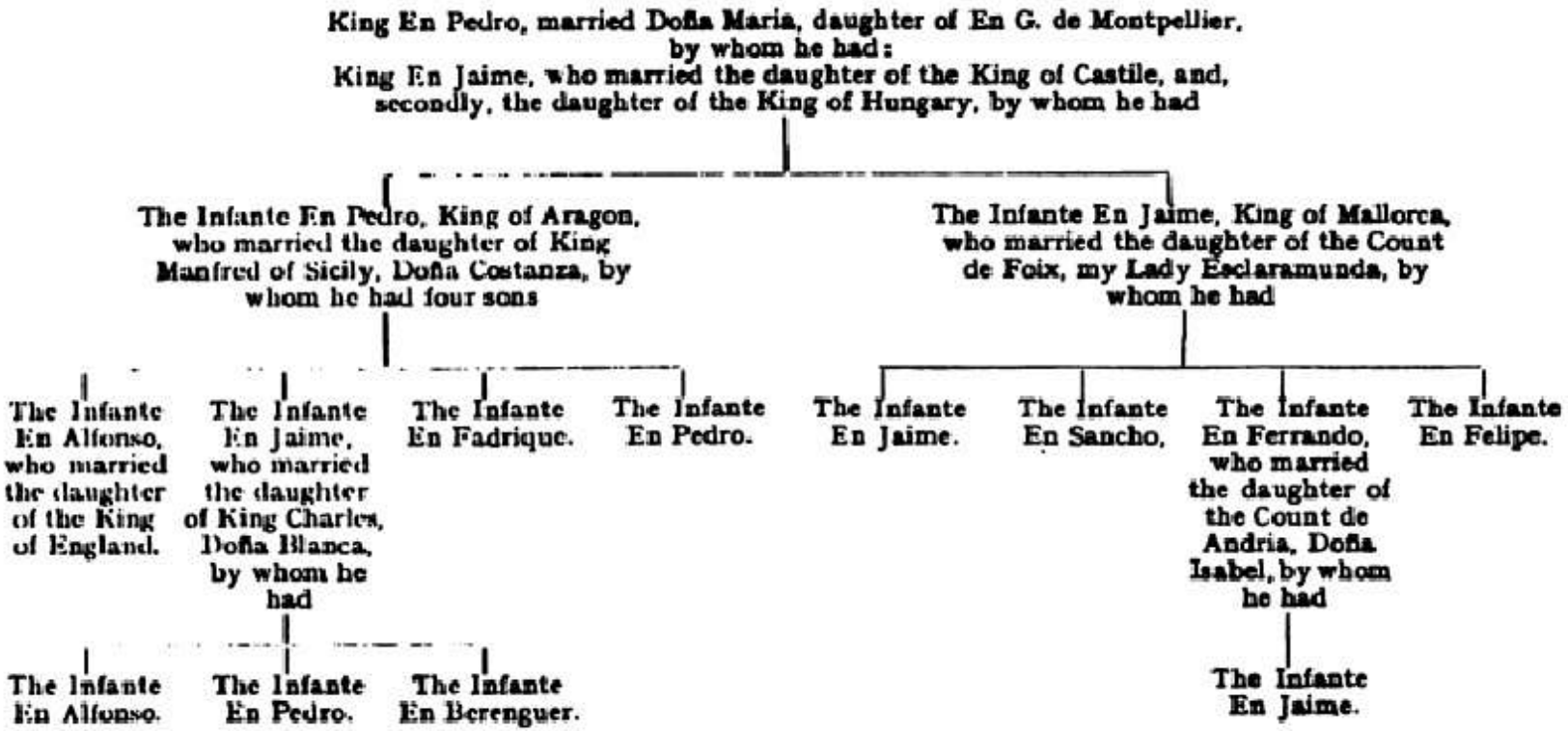
Table for the understanding of Chapter II, by which it will easily be known which kings will be spoken of in the present book :—


King En Pedro, married Dofia Maria, daughter of En G. de Montpellier, by whom he had:
King En Jaime, who married the daughter of the King of Castile, and, secondly, the daughter of the King of Hungary, by whom he had
The Infante En Pedro, King of Aragon, who married the daughter of King Manfred of Sicily, Dofia Costanza, by whom he had four sons
The Infante En Jaime, King of Mallorca, who married the daughter of the Count de Foix, my Lady Esclaramunda, by whom he had
The Infante En Alfonso, who married the daughter of the King of England.
The Infante En Jaime, who married the daughter of King Charles, Dofia Blanca, by whom he had
The Infante En Fadrique.
The Infante En Pedro.
The Infante En Jaime.
The Infante En Sancho,
The Infante En Ferrando, who married the daughter of the Count de Andria, Dofia Isabel, by whom he had
The Infante En Felipe.
The Infante En Alfonso.
The Infante En Pedro.
The Infante En Berenguer.
The Infante En Jaime.

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CHAPTER I.

How an apparition came to the bedside of Ramon Muntaner and made him begin this book.

ONE day, I being at my farm called Xiluella (which is situated in the huerta[1] of Valencia), and asleep in my bed, there came to me in a vision an old notable, dressed in white, who said to me: "Muntaner, get up and prepare to make a book of the great marvels that thou hast seen, which God has worked in the wars in which thou hast been. For it is God's pleasure that by thee they should be manifested. And I wish thee to know that for four reasons more particularly has God prolonged thy life and has brought thee to a prosperous position and will bring thee to a good end. Of these four things the first is, that thou hast held many commands, as well on the sea as on land, in which thou mightest have done more wrong than thou didst. The second is that thou hast never wished to return evil for evil to anyone who was in thy power; rather, many men of great importance came into thy power, who had done thee much injury and who thought to die when they came into thy hands, and thou, then, gavest thanks to God for the favour done to thee, and when they thought themselves most certain to die and to be lost, thou didst

[1] The irrigated plain in the neighbourhood of a town, laid out in gardens, orchards and fields.

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surrender them to Our Lord and true God, and didst deliver them from thy prison and didst send them to their country, safe and sound, clothed and apparelled as was fitting for each one. The third reason is that it is God's pleasure that thou shouldst recount these adventures and marvels, for there is not another alive to-day in the world who could relate them as truly. And the fourth, that whoever is King of Aragon should endeavour to act and speak well when he hears the favours God has shown in those events that thou wilt relate to them and to their people; and that they should believe that they will always go from well to better whilst they employ and spend their time in truth and rectitude. And that they should see and know that Our Lord always helps the righteous and that him who wages war and walks in uprightness, God exalts, and gives him victory and makes him, with few followers, destroy many who walk in pride and wickedness and trust more in their own power than in the power of God. And so, for this reason, arise and begin thy book and thy history in the best way God has granted thee."

And I, when I had heard this, awoke and expected to find the said notable, but found no one, and I made the sign of the Cross on my forehead and let some days pass without wishing to make any beginning of this. But, on another day, in the same place, I saw in a vision the said notable, who said to me: "Oh, Son, what art thou doing? Why despisest thou my command? Arise and do what I bid thee and know that if thou doest it, thou and thy children and all thy relations and friends will deserve well of God for the trouble and labour thou wilt have, and besides, thou wilt deserve well of all the lords who have issued and will issue from the House of Aragon." And he made the sign of the Cross over me and blessed me and my wife and children and went away.

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And I at once began this book and pray all who hear it to believe me (for, assuredly, all is truth which they will hear) and to doubt nothing, and every time they hear of great battles and feats of arms, let them be persuaded that all victories depend solely on the might and will of God and not on the might and will of men. And let all know that I do not think, nor ever could think, that the Company of Catalans, which has continued so long in Romania, would have continued there so long but for two things, which the Catalans have always had and have still, namely: firstly, that, whatever victory they gain, they never attribute to their own worth, but solely to the power and might of God; and secondly, that they always wish justice to be maintained amongst them. And these two things they all hold to, from the smallest to the greatest.

And so, for the love of God, you, Lords, who shall hear this book, imbue your hearts especially with those two things, and, as occasion arises, put them into practice and God will dispose your affairs for the best. For, he who ponders the power of God and our own, will easily understand that there is no other but God and His power; therefore this book is made especially in honour of God and His blessed Mother and of the House of Aragon.

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CHAPTER II.

In which the author claims the attention of his readers because he propounds the matter of which he will have to speak in this book, namely of the doings and prowess of the House of Aragon.

AND therefore I shall begin with the favour God did to the Most High Lord En[1] Jaime, by the grace of God King of Aragon, who was the son of the Most High Lord King En Pedro, King of Aragon and of the Most High Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, who was a very virtuous lady, worthy before God and the world, and was of the highest lineage of the world, she and her descendants being issued from the House of the Emperor of Rome.[2] And I begin with the said Lord King, En Jaime, because I saw him, I being still very young and the said Lord King being in the town of Peralada, where I was born, and where he lodged in the house of my father, En Juan Muntaner, which was one of the largest houses of that place and stood at the top of the plaza. And I recount these things in order that it should be known that I saw the Lord King and that I can tell what I saw of him and what I had part in, for I do not wish to meddle but with what was done in my time.

And first I shall speak of him and of the doings of the Most High Lord En Pedro, by the grace of God King of Aragon, his eldest son, and of the Most High Lord En Jaime King of Mallorca, likewise son of the

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[1] 'En' was the Catalan equivalent of the Castilian 'Don'; the feminine was 'Na,' or 'N' if before a vowel; in that case it was joined to the word, *i.e.*, 'Nisabel,' instead of 'Na Isabel.' The same contraction was made in the case of masculine names beginning with a vowel; thus 'En Alfonso' was 'Nanfos.'

[2] Maria, his mother, was the granddaughter of Emmanuel Comnenos, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire.

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said Lord King. And afterwards of the Most High Lord King En Alfonso, son of the Most High Lord King En Pedro; and afterwards of the Most High Lord King En Jaime, son of the said Lord King En Pedro; and of the Most High Lord Fadrique, son of the said Lord King En Pedro; and of the Most High Lord Infante En Pedro, their brother. And afterwards of the Most High Lord Infante En Alfonso, firstborn of the aforementioned Lord King En Jaime; and of the Lord Infante En Pedro, son of the said Lord King En Jaime; and of the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer, son of the said Lord King En Jaime. And afterwards of the Lord Infante En Jaime, firstborn son of the Lord King of Mallorca; and afterwards of the Lord Infante En Sancho, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca; and of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca; and of the Lord Infante En Felipe, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca. And also of the Lord Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca.

And when I shall have spoken of all these lords, and of the favours God has bestowed on them and on their subjects, everyone will be able to see that God has showered on them and their peoples His full grace, and if it please Him, He will hereafter do the same for all who are descendants of them and of their vassals. Yet ought it always to be their pleasure to remember the might of God and not to trust too much to their own valour, nor to their own power and worth, but rather leave all things in the hand of God.

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CHAPTER III.

How the notables and consuls of Montpellier were ever watchful to prevent harm coming to Montpellier; and how the birth of the Lord En Jaime came about through a miracle and specially by the act of God.

It can be clearly understood that the grace of God is and must be with all those who are descendants of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon, son of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon and of the Most High Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, as his birth came about through a special miracle of God and by His act. And in order that all should know it who, hereafter, will hear this book, I will relate it.

It is the truth that the said Lord King En Pedro took for his wife and queen the said Lady Maria of Montpellier, for the sake of her high descent and of her worth, and because he would thus acquire Montpellier and the barony which she held in freehold. But as time went on, the said Lord King En Pedro, who was young, became enamoured of other gentlewomen, and it followed that he did not return to the said lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, but sometimes came to Montpellier without going near her, which much afflicted and displeased all their subjects and especially the notables of Montpellier. It happened one day that the said Lord King came to Montpellier and, being there, became enamoured of a gentlewoman of Montpellier and for her held tourneys and knightly exercises, and did so much that he made his love evident to all. And the consuls and notables of Montpellier who knew this, sent for a knight who was an intimate of the said Lord King in such matters, and said to him, that if he would do what they told him, they would make him for ever rich and prosperous. And

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he told them to say what they wished, and there was nothing in the world he would not do for their sakes, except anything against his faith. And they pledged each other to secrecy in this cause. "Do you know," said they to the knight, "what we wish to say to you? The case is this: As you know, our Lady the Queen is one of the worthiest and most pious and virtuous ladies in the world; and you know that the Lord King does not return to her, to the great injury and hurt of the whole dominion. And the said Lady Queen goes about like a virtuous lady and does not let it appear that it is a grief to her. But for us it is an injury; for if the said Lord King should die and there should be no heir, it would be a great hurt and disgrace for all his country, and especially it would be a great injury for our Lady the Queen, and for Montpellier, for it would have to pass into other hands, and we, on no account, would wish that Montpellier should ever be separated from the Kingdom of Aragon. And so, if you like, you could give us advice."

And the knight answered: "I say to you, my Lords, I will do willingly all that depends upon me, and anything in which I can give advice in what is to the honour and advantage of Montpellier, of my Lord the King and of the Queen, my Lady Doña Maria, and all their people."

"Now, as you speak so well, we tell you that we know that you are in the confidence of the Lord King in the matter of his love for yonder lady, and that you are endeavouring that she should be his. Wherefore we beg you to tell him that you have obtained that she shall be his and she will receive him, all secretly, in her chamber; but that she will, on no account, have any light there, so that she shall be seen by no one. And at this he will have great pleasure. And when he has gone to bed and the court shall have dismissed everyone, you will come to us here, at the consulate of Montpellier and

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we shall be here, we twelve consuls, and shall have, between knights and other citizens, another twelve of the highest of Montpellier and of the barony. And we shall have here our Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, the Queen, who will be with us, with twelve ladies of the most honourable of Montpellier, and twelve damsels. And she will go with us to the said Lord King; and there will also come with us two notaries, the best of Montpellier, the clerk of the bishop and two canons and four worthy religious; and each man, and each lady, and each damsel will carry a taper which they will light when our Lady, Doña Maria, shall enter the chamber of the Lord King. And at the door of the said chamber all shall be assembled until it is nearly dawn, when you will open the door of the chamber. And when it is open, we, each with our taper in our hand, will enter into the Lord King's chamber. And there he will wonder, and then we shall tell him all and show that he has by his side my Lady Doña Maria, Queen of Aragon, and that we trust in God and in our Lady Saint Mary that in that night such fruit was engendered as will please God and all the world, and his dominion will be provided for, if God so wishes."

CHAPTER IV.

Recounts the answer the knight made to the Consuls of Montpellier, and the prayers and orisons that were said; and how they made an agreement with the Queen concerning their intentions.

AND when the knight heard and understood their object, which was virtuous and just, he said that he was ready; that he would do all that they had said and that he would not be held back by the fear of losing the love

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of the Lord King, nor even his own life; and that he trusted in our Lord, the true God, that, as they had planned and meditated this action, that so it would come to a happy issue, and that they might be sure of that. "But yet my Lords," said the knight, "as you have planned so well, I beg you will do something more for my sake." And they answered very kindly and said: "We are prepared to do all you will advise us." "Then, my Lords, in honour of God and of our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert, to-day being Saturday, when you have begun to confer on these matters, I beg and advise that, on Monday, in honour of our Lady Saint Mary all priests and men in orders that there are in Montpellier begin to say masses of our Lady Saint Mary, and that this be continued for seven days, in honour of the Seven Joys that she had in her Beloved Son; and that it may please her that God give us all joy and content of this agreement, and give it issue by which the Kingdom of Aragon and the counties of Barcelona and of Urgel and of Montpellier and all the other territories be well provided with a good Lord." And so he would ordain that, on the following Sunday, at the hour of vespers, all should be done as they had planned, and likewise, they should have masses sung of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Tables and our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert. And to this all agreed.

And, besides they ordained that on the said Sunday, when this was being done, all the inhabitants of Montpellier should go to the churches and watch there, praying, whilst the Queen was with the Lord King, and that, on Saturday, all should fast on bread and water. And thus it was ordained and disposed.

And upon this they, all together, as they were assembled in council, went to my Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, Queen of Aragon, and told her all they had disposed and ordained. And the said Lady Doña Maria said to them that they were her natural subjects and

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that she was certain that throughout all the world it was said that the wisest council of the world was that of Montpellier, and that, therefore, the world would declare that she must be satisfied with their advice, and that she held their coming to her to be like the salutation of our Lady Saint Mary by the angel Gabriel, and that as, through that salutation, the salvation of the human race had been accomplished, so, also, their device and agreement would come to a happy issue if it pleased God and our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court, to the honour and profit of the soul and body of the Lord King and hers and those of all their subjects. And thus may it be fulfilled. Amen.

And so they departed in great joy and you may well understand and think that all were praying and fasting that week, and especially the Queen.

CHAPTER V.

How it was that the Lord King did not understand wherefore the people prayed and fasted though he knew they did so; and how the matter came to a happy issue, the Lord King recognizing with whom he had rested.

Now we might say how could it be that the Lord King knew this not, when all prayed so openly for this event and everyone had been ordered to fast? I answer and say that, throughout all the territory of the said Lord King, there was a command that orisons should be said every day, specially praying to God to establish peace and love between the said Lord King and the Lady Queen; and to give them such offspring as would be pleasing to Him and be for the good of the kingdom; especially every time the Lord King went to Montpellier, there was a splendid procession made for this. And

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when they told him of it, he said: "They do well; it will be as God pleases." And these fitting words the Lord King spoke, and other good words were spoken about it by the Queen and her people. Wherefore our Lord and true God brought it to a good issue when it pleased Him. And you shall hear further on why the Lord King thought nought about the prayers that were being said, just as no one knew either what was being disposed, except those who had been present at the council. And so the orisons and masses and other holy offices went on for seven days that week; and meanwhile the knight acted in the matter and brought it to an issue, such as you have heard was planned. So that on Sunday night, when everybody in the palace had lain down to rest, the said twenty-four notables and abbots and priors and the bishop's clerks, and religious, and the twelve ladies and the twelve damsels, with tapers in their hands, entered the palace, and the two notaries likewise, and all together they came to the door of the chamber of the Lord King, and into it entered my Lady the Queen, and they remained outside kneeling in prayer all together.

And the King and the Queen rested together, and the Lord King believed he had at his side the lady of whom he was enamoured. And so, that night, all the churches of Montpellier remained open and all the people in them were praying to God, as has been said before had been ordained. And when it was dawn, all the notables and prelates and religious and ladies, each with their lighted taper in their hand, entered the chamber; and the Lord King was in his bed with the Queen, and wondered, and sprang up at once on the bed and seized his sword. And all knelt down and said weeping: "Lord, deign to look and see who it is lies by your side." And the Queen sat up and the Lord King recognized her; and they told him all they had disposed. And the Lord King said that, as it was so, may it please God to fulfil their intention.

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CHAPTER VI.

How the Lord King departed from Montpellier and my Lady the Queen bore a son who was called En Jaime, who was, in regular course, crowned King of Aragon and married the daughter of King Don Fernando of Castile and a daughter of the King of Hungary by whom he had three sons.

HOWEVER, the Lord King rode that day and departed from Montpellier. And the notables of Montpellier retained six knights of those the Lord King loved best, and with them, all together, as they had been when they discussed their plan, disposed that they should not leave the palace nor the Queen, neither they nor their wives who had been present, nor the damsels who likewise had been present, until nine months should be accomplished. And the two notaries likewise who, in the presence of the Lord King had written public letters of the event, writing the same night; and yonder knight also remained with the queen. And so they, all together, remained with the Lady Queen very joyously and their joy was greater still when they saw that it had pleased God that their plan should come to a happy issue; that the Queen grew bigger. And at the end of nine months, according to
1208 nature, she gave birth to a beautiful and fine son, who was born for the good of Christians, and more particularly for the good of his peoples, for never was lord born to whom God showed greater or more signal favour. And with great rejoicing and satisfaction they baptised him in the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Tables in Montpellier, and they gave him, by the grace of God, the name of En Jaime, and he reigned many years and obtained great victories and gave great increase to the Catholic Faith and especially to all his vassals and subjects.

And the said Infante En Jaime grew and improved

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more in one year than others do in two. And it was not long before the good king, his father, died,[1] and he was 1213
crowned King of Aragon and count of Barcelona and Urgel and Lord of Montpellier. And he had to wife the daughter of King En Fernando of Castile, by whom he had a son, called En Alfonso, who would have been a lord of great spirit and state if he had lived; but who died before the Lord King his father; wherefore I need speak of him no more. And the Queen, mother of the said Lord Infante En Alfonso, had died a long time before; she was only a short while with the Lord King.[2] Then the said Lord King took to wife the daughter of 1235
the King of Hungary and by her he had three sons and three daughters. The eldest was called the Infante En Pedro, the other the Infante En Jaime, and the other the Infante En Sancho, who became archbishop of Toledo. And of the daughters,[3] one became Queen of Castile, and the other Queen of France, and the other wife of the Infante En Manuel, brother of the King of Castile. And each of those two Queens, in the lifetime of the Lord King En Jaime, gave birth to many sons and daughters, as did also the wives of the Infante En Pedro and of the Infante En Jaime, all of whom the said Lord King En Jaime saw in his lifetime.

So, from now onwards, I will turn to our design, to the doings of the said Lord King En Jaime. I say, and it is the truth, that he was king by nature and king by

[1] In the Battle of Muret in the year 1213.

[2] Jaime married Eleanor of Castile in 1221, and repudiated her in 1229. Their son Alfonso was, however, acknowledged as heir. Jaime subjected him to incessant persecution until Alfonso's death in 1260 put an end to the violent dissensions between father and son. In 1235, Jaime married Yolande (Violante) daughter of Andrew, King of Hungary. "Her dowry was to consist of 10,000 silver marks and her rights in France and Namur, but her territorial claims were certainly never made good." (F. D. Swift: James I of Aragon.)

[3] Isabel, married Philip III, le Hardi; Violante married Alfonso X, the Learned, of Castile; Constanza married the Infante Manuel. Muntaner does not mention a fourth daughter, Sancha, who became a nun.

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virtue and grace; for you have heard that his birth was a signal act of God and one of the greatest and most manifest miracles that have ever happened. Wherefore every one of the kings who have reigned in Aragon and in Mallorca and in Sicily, and all who shall descend from them hereafter, can reckon that they are in the same degree kings by nature and full of virtue and grace. As God has created them so He exalts them and will exalt them always over all their enemies. Wherefore the Holy Father would confer a great mercy on Christianity if, leaving all the other kings of the world, he allied himself with these and became reconciled and made a treaty with them. If he gave them enough of the money and treasure of Holy Church, they would recover for him the Land beyond sea and would put down all infidels. Thus God's act in causing the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon to be born, would not be in vain, but rather it would be for His service; and this has been shown from that time until now and will be shown hereafter, if it pleases God. And he toils in vain who wishes to oppose this work of God, for, assuredly, the greater they are who oppose the descendants of that lord, the greater the loss they will suffer, for nothing which opposes what God has created and made can last.

And so, Lords of Aragon and Mallorca and Sicily who are descendants of that virtuous Lord, King En Jaime, whom God by His act and virtue caused to be born, be of good cheer and be all of one mind and one will, and thus you shall be superior to all your enemies and all princes of the world. Let not evil counsellors turn you from your purpose, for, to desist, would be to go against what God has fashioned. And be content with what God has given you and will give you, and take to heart all you have heard hitherto, for you may well understand that you are all the work of God and God is all truth and mercy and justice towards you.

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THE CONQUEST OF MALLORCA.

CHAPTER VII.

Recounts briefly the great prowess of King En Jaime and how not being twenty years old, he took Mallorca by force of arms.

Now, in order that everyone should know the great favours God bestowed on the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon throughout his life, I wish to tell you a part of them briefly. I do not wish to tell you all in regular order and I abstain therefrom because many books have already been made about his life and his conquests and about how accomplished he was in matters of chivalry, and in planning and in all prowess. But I will tell you about it briefly, in order to enter better into the matter of which I wish to speak to you.

As I have told you already, there never was born a king to whom God showed greater favours throughout his life than He did to the Lord King En Jaime, and of these I will tell you a part. Firstly, his birth was a great miracle, as I have told and related to you already; and next, he was acknowledged to be the most handsome prince of the world and the most wise, and the most generous, and the most upright, and one more beloved by all, as well by his subjects as by others, strangers and intimates, than any other king there ever was. As long as the world lasts he will be called the Good King En Jaime of Aragon. Besides, he loved and feared God above all things, and he who loves God, loves also his neighbour and justice and truth and mercy. And with these virtues he was plentifully endowed. Besides he was more accomplished in feats of arms than any other man. And all these qualities I was able to see

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and ascertain, like all those who saw him and heard about him. Further, God granted him the great favour of having good sons and good daughters and good grandsons and grand-daughters, whom he saw in his lifetime, as I have told you. And besides God did him the grace that, before he was twenty years old, he conquered the kingdom of Mallorca, which he took from the Saracens with much trouble to himself and his followers as well in battles as from lack of provisions, from sickness and other causes, as you can learn in the book that was written about the Conquest of Mallorca. And also, I want you to know that the said conquest was made with more vigour and manly courage than has ever been shown in the taking of any city like Mallorca,[1] which is of the strongest cities of the world, and surrounded by the best walls. And when the siege had lasted a long time, in cold and heat and lack of provisions, the King ordered the good Count of Ampurias to make a breach through which the city could be invaded. A great piece of the wall came away on the day of Saint
1228 Sylvester and Saint Coloma in the year 1228, and, through the place where the aperture was made, the company of the Lord King was amongst the first to enter, his followers forcing their way in, sword in hand; and in the street now called San Miguel the fight was so fierce, it was marvellous to behold. And the Lord King recognized the Saracen king and forced his way to him, and seized him by his beard. And this he did because he had sworn that he would not leave that place until he had seized the Saracen king by the beard. And so he wished to fulfil his vow.[2]

[1] The present name of the capital, La Palma, dates from the fifteenth century.

[2] "To 'beard' a man was regarded in the Middle Ages as the worst affront; by the Usages of Ramon Berenguer it was punished by the same fine as a blow to the effusion of blood—20 sols." (Gayangos.)

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CHAPTER VIII.

Why the Lord King En Jaime, being before Mallorca, swore he would not depart thence until he had seized the Saracen king by the beard; and how, Mallorca being taken, Minorca and Ibiza paid tribute to him; and who were the first Christians who peopled Mallorca.

AND the Lord King made that vow because the said Saracen king had, by means of catapults, flung Christian captives into the midst of the host; wherefore it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that the King should avenge them. And after he had taken the city and all the Kingdom had surrendered to him, he had to leave the island of Minorca, which is thirty leagues beyond the island of Mallorca. But the almojarife of Minorca became his man and vassal, and agreed to pay a fixed tribute every year. And he made the same agreement with the island of Ibiza, which is distant sixty leagues from the island of Mallorca. And each of these islands is fertile and beautiful, and each has a circuit of a hundred miles, and each is thickly peopled with Moors of good lineage.

And this the said Lord did because he could not tarry there. The Saracens of the Kingdom of Valencia were overrunning a great portion of his country, so that his people suffered great damage; wherefore it was necessary that he should go to succour them. And for this chiefly did he leave those two islands and did not, at that time, expel the Saracens; and also, he left them there because he wanted his followers for the peopling of the town of Mallorca and all that island. And so the one population was to be worth less than the other, because so it seemed best to him. Therefore it was that he left the two islands inhabited by Saracens, for he knew he could at any time conquer them. And when he had taken the said town and island, he gave it greater exemptions and privileges than had any other town in the world;

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wherefore it is to-day one of the noblest cities of the world and one of the richest, entirely inhabited by Catalans, all coming from good and honourable places. Wherefore they have heirs to-day who are the most prosperous and well-nurtured people of any city in the world.

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA.

CHAPTER IX.

How the Lord King En Jaime, after Mallorca had been taken, returned to Catalonia and resolved to make war upon the King of Valencia and how he acquired the city and the kingdom; and at what time Murcia was acquired and conquered.

AND when he had conquered and obtained all this, he returned to Catalonia and afterwards to Aragon. And in each of these provinces he held Cortes,[1] in

[1] "Cortes were originally merely an assembly or council of the nobility whose function it was to submit certain cases to the Sovereign, and, on some occasions, to act as judges. When Count Ramon Berenguer I assembled the nobles for the purpose of regulating the legal practice, they already possessed legislative powers and, soon after, as the middle classes acquired importance and the great fiefs of the crown were subdivided, thereby strengthening the royal jurisdiction and diminishing that of private individuals, the Cortes acquired greater power. Popular representation increased, although the councils also sent their representatives who formed, later on, one of the three branches of the Permanent Deputation or 'Generalidad,' with the title of Royal Branch, *i.e.*, composed of vassals of the king, not of a lord. The Cortes of Lerida, in which fealty was sworn to Don Jaime as King of Aragon, are the first Catalan-Aragonese Cortes recorded in Spanish history in which a representative form can be discerned, a form preserved for many centuries in the Cortes held sometimes by each state of the confederation in its own capital, sometimes by all jointly at some point near the boundaries, generally at Monzon. In the former case they were called 'Parliament' or 'General Cortes of Aragon,' or Catalonia, &c., and were an assembly met for some special purpose. In the latter case they were called 'General Cortes of the Crown'; they were a genuine assembly of the representatives of all the states under the crown."—Bofarull.

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which he gave to his barons and subjects many rich gifts and exemptions and privileges, as he had done in Mallorca. But do not think that he sojourned and tarried long in the country; rather, he soon went to Tortosa, on the frontier, and began war against the Saracen king of Valencia and all the other Saracens 1232
of the world, as well by sea as by land, suffering from storms and rain and thunder, hunger, thirst, cold and heat. And he went about conquering towns, castles and fortified villages in the mountains and in the plains, taking them from the Saracens. And this toil lasted so long that, from the time he left Mallorca, until he came to the siege of Valencia and had taken it, ten years had gone by; and so this is certain, that, from the conquest of the city of Mallorca, until that of the city of Valencia, was ten years exactly, neither more nor less. And after he had taken the said city of Valencia, which was on the eve of Saint Michael in the year 1238, 1238
and had peopled it with his own followers, he went on conquering and taking all that belonged to the Kingdom of Valencia in the direction of the Kingdom of Murcia. Thus he took Alcira, which is of the strongest towns of the world and a fair and notable town. And then he took the castle of Játiva and the town; that castle is the most regal castle any king has, and the town is fair and large and wealthy and strongly walled round. And then he took the castle of Consentayna, and the towns of Alcoy and Albaida and Penaguila and many other places which it would take long to describe. And so, also, he made truces with many Saracen barons there were in the said kingdom, in order that he might people the places he had taken. But all those with whom he made truces were responsible to him for a fixed annual tribute. And besides, he afterwards took the castle of Cullera which is on the sea shore, and the town and castle of Corbera, and the town of Alfandech with

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three castles there were there. And then he took Bairen, which is a fine castle, and then Palma, and Villalonga, and Rebollet and Gallinera, and the vale of Logar, and the vale of Xaló, and the vale of Jabea, and Alcalá, and Denia, and Locayba, and Polop, and Carbona, and Guaix, and Berdia, and Calpe, and Godalest, and Confrides, and the castle of Hortgeta and Finestrat and many other castles and towns which are in those parts. Then he took Sariá, and Elocau, and Castellnou and the city of Segorbe, and the castle and town of Ejérica and many other places which are in those parts. Then he took Quart, and Manizes and Paterna and Ribarroga, and Vilamarchante, and Cheste, and Benaguazir, and Lliria, and Chiva, and Buñol, and Macastre, and Madrona, and Xullell, and Viladejora which are seven castles in one valley; and then Novarres and Lombay, and Anguera, and Castalla, and Tibi, and Ibi, and Sexona and Torres-torres, and Albes, which are more than ten castles; and many other places which I do not wish to write down, for the reason I have told you before, that you will find them in the book which has been made of the Conquest. However, before the King had taken the city of Valencia he had already taken many fair villages and towns and castles, as I have told you before, and I will name to you some of these places which are very magnificent, so that everyone of them is worthy of being a city. First he conquered, going from Tortosa towards the sea, Amposta which, at that time, was a splendid place, and the castle of Ulldecona and Peñiscola and Orpesa and Castellou and Burriana and Almazora and Chilches and Almenara and the vale of Segó and Murviedro and El Puig. And he likewise conquered, going inland, the vale of Roures and Morella and San Mateo and Cervera and Valltrayguera and La Jana and La Salzadella and Las Coves and Cabanes and Elbalech and Vilafames and the castle of Montornes

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and Burriol and Nulles and the castle of Uxó and La Vall and Altura and Rio-de-Millás, which are thirty castles marvellously strong; and the castle and town of Onda, where there are as many towers as there are days in the year. And likewise he had conquered all I have already told you of and many other castles, which you will find in the Book of the Conquest.[1] And when he had conquered and settled all this, he wished to go and visit the Kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia and the counties of Roussillon, and Cerdagne, and Conflans, which his cousin-german, count En Nuño Sanchez, who had passed with him into Mallorca, had bequeathed to him. And so likewise he went to visit Montpellier, which he took great pleasure in visiting. And in every place he went to, great processions were made and thanks given to Our Lord, the true God who had saved them; and there were dances and games and divers amusements; for everyone endeavoured to do honour to the King and to please him; and he, likewise, dispensed favours to everyone and distributed so many gifts that the heirs of the recipients are still made prosperous by them.

CHAPTER X.

How the Moors of the Kingdom of Valencia rebelled with the aid of the Kings of Murcia and Granada; and how the Lord King En Jaime, being in Catalonia, sent his son, the Infante En Pedro, with a company of knights; and Montesa was taken and the Kingdom pacified.

And so the King being thus occupied, the Saracens who were in the Kingdom of Valencia and who had concluded peace and truces with him, thought that,

[1] Bofarull thinks that by the *Book of the Conquest*, Muntaner perhaps refers to the books of the Repartimiento (division or distribution) which recall William the Conqueror's Domesday Book, and, like it, give minute details. They are kept in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona.

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as the said Lord King was far away, they could recover many castles and many places before he could hurry back. Thinking thus, and with the aid and advice of the King of Murcia and of the King of Granada, they rose in the forts and in the castles which they were able to recapture, of which they took many before the Christians had perceived it. And they overran the whole of the country and took many Christians captive and did much damage. And the procurator of the Kingdom and the richs homens[1] and the cities and towns and villages sent messages at once to the Lord King and let him know all that was happening. With this he was much displeased and, at once, ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro, his eldest son, should go to the Kingdom of Valencia, and take with him a Company of knights of Catalonia and Aragon; and he gave him full power in all things, as if it had been himself. And the said Lord Infante En Pedro, being a man of the

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[1] The great barons of Aragon and Catalonia were styled richs homens (in Castilian ricos hombres); they had a special banner and their full title was richs homens de señera. Nine families bore the title of richs homens de natura; these were the descendants of the nobles who ruled the kingdom before a new Prince had been elected after the conquest of Spain by the Moors. Prescott says: "The privileges, both honorary and substantial enjoyed by the ricos hombres were very considerable. They filled the highest posts in the State. They originally appointed judges in their domains for the cognizance of certain civil causes, and over a class of their vassals exercised an unlimited criminal jurisdiction. They were excused from taxation except in specified cases; were exempted from all corporal and capital punishment, nor could they be imprisoned, although their estates might be sequestrated for debt.

"The king distributed among the great barons the territory reconquered from the Moors, in proportions determined by the amount of their respective services.

"The laws conceded certain powers to the aristocracy, of a most dangerous character. They were entitled to defy, and publicly denounce their allegiance to their Sovereign, with the whimsical privilege, in addition, of commending their families and estates to his protection, which he was obliged to accord until they were again reconciled. The mischievous right of private war was repeatedly recognized by statute. It was claimed and exercised in its full extent.

This remnant of barbarism lingered longer in Aragon than in any other country in Christendom." (W. H. Prescott: *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic.* Introduction, section II.)

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highest and best spirit of any man ever born or that, I believe, ever will be born, received the said power with great joy and content and took leave of the Lord King, his father, who blessed him and made the sign of the Cross over him and granted him leave.

And he at once went to the Kingdom of Valencia with richs homens and knights and men afoot of Catalonia and Aragon. And when he was in the city of Valencia he disposed his richs homens and knights and citizens and almugavars[1] and retainers and seamen, and distributed

[1] "In consequence of the first invasions from Africa, several of the territories of which Spain was then composed became deserted, and the fugitive inhabitants took shelter in the rugged mountains whence they made constant raids on neighbouring nations, or where they were isolated, as in the Muradal. They came down, driven by want, to attack friend or foe. Their places of refuge became notorious fastnesses in which both Christians and Saracens took shelter, formed themselves into tribes and gave their chiefs Arabic titles. They made raids on their own account, without performing any regular military duty for any of the Spanish nationalities. The Crown of Aragon it was who transformed this wandering and savage population, or rather who, by her example, created a new military institution of great utility in her conquests as the almugavars, whilst being soldiers, preserved at the same time the original character of their race, so that they and not the settled inhabitants are properly renowned for their exploits. They were divided into companies of which the captains were called 'al mocaten' or 'almugaden,' and they had other leaders called 'dalil' or 'adalid,' who were guides knowing the roads and paths, and had power to take decisions concerning raids or incursions, to distribute booty, &c. The almugavar, according to Desclot, was clothed in a sort of loosecoat and breeches made of hides; he wore rough leather sandals and protected his legs with antiparas [half-gaiters for the front of the leg] also made of hides, as was the knapsack or bag in which he carried his daily meal. On his head he wore the 'redicilla' (perhaps the 'rociolo' of the Goths) with which he bound his hair (Moncada says it was made of steel). Attached to his belt was a leather strap from which hung a bag or pouch for his flint and tinder and, with it, a knife or dagger. His hair was long, like that of the barbarians of old, as he never cut it, nor did he ever shave. His weapons consisted of a short spear or lance, easy to throw, and of three or four darts which he carried slung on his shoulder, as reserve ammunition. In attack, the almugavars shouting their war-cry 'Desperta ferres,' struck their spears or lances against stones, producing innumerable sparks in every direction, with a terrifying effect; after which, amidst a general clamour, they threw themselves as in a torrent upon the enemy—'Mghabbar,' means 'dusty' and 'Muhavir' is the same as the Hebrew 'Muhavar,' which means 'partner,' 'companion' and 'assistant.' Almugavar still occurs as a surname in Catalonia." (Bofarull.) Gayangos says: "'Almugavar is an Arabic word ('mughaver' and with the article 'al-mughaver') participle or noun of 'agent' from 'gara' . . . . From the same root are derived

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them all where he saw they were wanted, and he went towards Játiva and encountered the Moors who were in great numbers by the canal of Alcoy, and he defeated them, sending them all to death and perdition. And then he went to another part of the country and did the same, so that, when he was believed to be in one place, he was in another, and where he could not go on horseback, he went on foot with the almugavars. And so he conducted the war with so much vigour that the Saracens did not know what to do, for where they thought to be most safe, there they were taken and killed, and their enemies made captive all they wanted to and put the fear of death in their hearts, so that they did not know where to go. And they decided to occupy a strong castle, which is distant one league from Játiva and is called Montesa, and from there to do great damage to all the country.

And the Lord Infante learnt their intention from spies he had amongst them, and he let a great number of them collect there. And one morning, before daybreak, he surrounded the castle and the rock with many men afoot and then he sent a message throughout the country, to his richs homens and knights, to come to him at Montesa. And, as he commanded, so it was done and there came to him the host of the city of Valencia and the hosts of all the towns of the Kingdom. And he besieged the said place, Montesa, and held it besieged in such manner and so closely that he took it and it

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the Spanish words 'algara,' 'algarada,' a foray, and also 'almugavar,' the soldier employed in forays. The name was given to a sort of militia, originally from Catalonia, but which in the course of time spread also to Aragon and Navarre and counted in its ranks volunteers of all nations, Christians as well as Mahomedans. It was they who, in the thirteenth century conquered Sicily and part of the Morea. They fought generally on foot, although in Castile at least, some of them were mounted, constituting a sort of light cavalry. Their officers and captains were called 'almocadem' from the Arabic, in Spanish 'almocaden' and 'adelantado.'" (Chronicle of James I, translated by Forster and Gayangos.)

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surrendered to him. And after the said place, Montesa, had surrendered, all the places which had risen surrendered also, so that, assuredly, it can well be said that the Lord Infante En Pedro conquered part of the Kingdom of Valencia a second time. And every day the news went to the Lord King, his father, of the bold undertakings and skirmishes and feats of chivalry and other enterprises of the said Lord Infante En Pedro against the Moors.

CHAPTER XI.

How the Lord King En Jaime married his son the Infante En Pedro to the Queen Doña Costanza, daughter of King Manfred of Sicily, and the Infante En Jaime to Esclaramunda, daughter of the Count of Foix, and made the Infante En Sancho Archbishop of Toledo.

AND the King was very pleased and content. Nevertheless, as soon as he could, he went to the Kingdom of Valencia, and more particularly because he had received the message that King Don Alfonso of Castile,[1] who was his son-in-law, wished to see him and that he would

[1] Alfonso X, El Sabio, thoroughly deserved his name of 'The Learned'; he was legislator, philosopher, historian, mathematician, astronomer and poet. His *Fuero Real de España*, and the celebrated *Siete Partidas* are important legal works; he is supposed to have been the philosopher who wrote *El Tesoro*; he wrote the *Crónica general de España*, and compiled the astronomical tables called after him the *Alfonsine Tables*. He is known as a poet by his *Cantigas* and his *Querellas*. As king, warrior and father he was most unfortunate. His father, Ferdinand III, the Saint, left him a splendid inheritance, but Alfonso's life was spent in wars—against the Moors, against Portugal, Navarre, against rebellious, powerful vassals. His brother Enrique joined the rebels, and the chief rebel of all was his own son, Don Sancho. Discontent was general, the country impoverished by the constant wars of this and the previous reign. One of Alfonso's first acts had been the depreciation of the coinage; he spent much money on claims to Guienne and to Swabia, and on his election as Emperor of Germany which never became effective. His claim to Guienne was settled by his acceding to Henry III's proposal that he should make it over to his daughter, Eleanor, who becme the wife of Henry's son, Edward I. Alfonso died in 1284, and was succeeded, against the dispositions of his will, by his son, Sancho.

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bring to Valencia the Queen (the Lord King En Jaime's daughter) and his children, to please the said Lord King En Jaime whom he looked upon as a father. So he came to Valencia and found there the Lord Infante En Pedro, who had destroyed all the Moors who had rebelled; and he was greatly pleased and satisfied with him and all his doings. And, finally, he arranged to marry him, for, from many parts, very honourable offers of marriage came to him, of daughters of emperors and kings. And, at last, he agreed to give him the daughter of King Manfred, who was King of Sicily and of the Principality and of all Calabria, and of the province of Taranto, and of that of Otranto, and of Apulia, and of the Abruzzi and all that country as far as the city of Ascoli which is in the March of Ancona; and his sea coast extended from the Roman shore to San Fabian, which is the sea of the city of Ascoli and of Fermo. And King Manfred was the son of the Emperor Frederick who was the greatest lord in the world and of the most illustrious blood.

And the said King Manfred lived more magnificently that any other lord in the world, and with greater doings, and with greater expenditure; so that this marriage pleased the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Pedro, his son, more than any other in the world. He selected worthy and honourable messengers who went to conclude the matter with King Manfred's messengers who had come for that purpose. And when they came to Naples they concluded their business with King Manfred; and with ten well-equipped galleys they brought away the damsel, who was fourteen years old and the most beautiful creature and the most discreet and virtuous that lived at that time. And, very joyously and very gaily, with a great company of richs homens and knights and citizens and prelates and ladies and damsels, they brought her to Catalonia to the Lord Infante and he took her for his wife according

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to the law, as Holy Church commands.[1] And the good king his father, and all his brothers and all the barons of Aragon and of Catalonia were present at his wedding. And I could tell you the great doings at these nuptials, but they who would know them, let them go to the book that was made about the said Lord Infante En Pedro after he was king, and there they will find the noble doings and the great gifts that were made at these nuptials, and other long accounts which I refrain from writing because they are written already.[2] And by this damsel, who was called Queen Costanza, the Lord Infante En Pedro had many children of whom four sons and two damsels survived the said Lady Queen and their father; namely, the Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique and the Infante En Pedro. And all these lords became the wisest princes of the world and the most accomplished in feats of arms and in all feats, as you will see further on, when it is time and place for me to speak of them. And of the damsels, as I have told you before, one became Queen of Portugal, and the other became the wife of King Robert,[3] King of Jerusalem. 1262

And so, this marriage concluded, the Lord King En Jaime married his other son, called the Infante En Jaime, and gave him to wife the daughter of the count of Foix who is the most illustrious baron and the richest there is in Languedoc. The said daughter of the count of Foix was called my Lady Esclaramunda, and she was one of the most discreet and modest ladies of the world, and a lady of the most virtuous life there ever

[1] The marriage of Pedro III and Constance, daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen, and Beatrice (daughter of Amadeo, count of Savoy) was celebrated at Montpellier on the 13th July, 1262.

[2] Perhaps Muntaner refers here to the Chronicle of Bernard Desclot, written a few years before his own.

[3] Robert the Wise, or the Good (1309—1343), King of Naples and Jerusalem, Count of Provence, third son of Charles II, the Lame.

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was. And at these nuptials also there were great and splendid doings by the barons of Catalonia and of Aragon and France and Gascony and all Languedoc. And by this lady the said Lord Infante En Jaime had many sons and daughters, of whom four sons and two daughters survived their father and their mother, the same as in the case of the Lord Infante En Pedro. And the eldest son was called the Infante En Jaime, and the other the Infante En Sancho, and the other the Infante En Ferrando, and the other the Infante En Felipe; and of all these lords I will tell you the life and the doings in due time and place. And of the damsels one became the wife of Don Juan, son of the Infante En Manuel of Castile, and the other became the wife of the aforementioned King Robert, who took her to wife after Doña Violante had died, who was the daughter of the Lord King En Pedro. And of all these Infantes I will recount to you the life and state in due time and place.

After the King had married these two sons of his, he made his third son, who was called the Infante En Sancho, archbishop of Toledo; and he was very devout and virtuous, so that he was held in his lifetime to be one of the best prelates of the world, and one of the most holy and virtuous, and one who helped greatly the increase of the Holy Catholic Faith in Spain, and caused great damage to the Saracens and greatly reduced them. In the end he died in battle against them, and so he can be counted amongst the martyrs, as he died to maintain and exalt the Holy Catholic Faith.[1] And

[1] He died in the battle of Torre del Campo (21st of October 1275), in which he was taken prisoner. A quarrel arose amongst his captors as to whose prisoner he was. "Atar, Lord of Malaga, thrust his sword right through his body, saying: 'It is not right that, for the sake of this dog, such noble knights should fight.' After his death his left hand, on which was the episcopal ring, and his head were cut off. . . . . His body, head and hand, redeemed at the cost of much gold, were buried in the royal chapel at Toledo, called the Chapel of the Holy Cross." (Mariana: *History of Spain*, book XIV, chapter L)

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when the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon had seen all these things accomplished, he was very joyful and content, and he set all his dominions in order.

CHAPTER XII.

How King Don Alfonso of Castile came for the first time to the Kingdom of Valencia with the Queen his wife and with his sons to see the King of Aragon; and of the good reception the King of Aragon gave him and of the covenants they both negotiated regarding the conquest of the Kingdom of Murcia; and how King En Jaime made it his charge.

Now I will tell you how the Lord King of Castile came to Valencia, with the Queen his wife, and with his 1248
sons. And the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon went to meet him at the boundaries of the kingdoms, and he ordained matters in his kingdoms and his territories in such manner that the people who came with the King of Castile had not to buy anything for money, but all went to take rations of all things wanted for meals to the court of the said Lord King of Aragon. And they were so well supplied by the court with all the provisions they required and needed, that their scouts ended by selling, in the market-places, whole sheep and kids and quarters of veal and beef, and bread and wine and capons and fowls and rabbits and partridges and all other kinds of poultry, so that the people of the place in which they were lived almost for nothing, so well supplied were the markets. And so this expenditure went on for more than two months, whilst the King of Castile was in the city of Valencia or in the kingdom; and he never spent any money of his own, neither he, nor any of those who were with him. And you may imagine that during that time the Kings and Queens and Infantes and counts and

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viscounts and barons and prelates and knights (of whom there were many from all the Kingdoms) and citizens and se? men lived very joyously and gaily.

And, whilst they were together, one day the King of Castile spoke to the King of Aragon and said to him: "Father, well you know that, when you gave me your daughter to wife, you promised that you would help me to conquer the Kingdom of Murcia; and it is the truth that you have a good part of that Kingdom, because to your conquests belong Alicante, and Elche, and the valley of Elda, and of Novelda, and Aspe, and Petrel, and Crevillente, and Abanilla, and Callosa, and Orihuela, and Guardamar, up to the plain of Montagut by land, and by sea up to Cartagena and Alama and Lorca and Mula and Caravaca and Cehegin and Bulles and Nogat and Libreny and Villena and Almansa and many other castles which belong to that kingdom and are part of your conquest. And so, as God has shown you so much favour that you have conquered the Kingdom of Valencia, I beg you, as a son may beg his father, that you help me to conquer the said kingdom, and when it is conquered that you keep the places that belong to your conquest and we shall keep ours; for, certainly, great damage comes to us and to all our territories from that kingdom." And the Lord King of Aragon answered that he was very well pleased with what the King of Castile had said to him and that all these things were as he had said and that he should return to his country and see to his other frontiers; that he, himself, would undertake the conquest of Murcia; and he swore in his presence that he would not rest until he had conquered the city and a great part of the kingdom.

And the King of Castile rose and went and kissed him on the mouth and said to him, "Father and Lord, I render you great thanks for what you have said to me and, as it is so, I shall return to Castile and see to the

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putting in order of all the frontiers towards the country of the King of Granada, especially towards Cordoba and Ubeda and Jaen and Baeza and the frontier of Seville. And as I can now hold myself secure that no harm can come to me from the Kingdom of Murcia, I shall defend myself well against the King of Granada and the King of Morocco and against all their supporters. The greatest danger to my territory is from the Kingdom of Murcia, but henceforth, with the help of God and His Blessed Mother Our Lady Saint Mary, you will defend me against them." And these covenants made, the King of Castile returned to his country and the said Lord King of Aragon accompanied him until he was out of his Kingdom and all the time supplied his needs and those of all his retinue, as has been said before.

CHAPTER XIII.

How, after the King of Castile had departed, the Lord King En Jaime made an agreement with his barons and richs homens in the matter of the promise given to the King of Castile; and how he sent the Infante En Pedro to harry the Kingdom of Murcia; and of the great captures the Lord Infante En Pedro made in the said Kingdom.

FROM now onwards I shall leave the King of Castile, who is back in his territories and his dominions, and I shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon, who was preparing to enter the Kingdom of Murcia. And to that end he held a council with his sons and his barons and all agreed that, as he had given that promise to the King of Castile (which he related to them fully), he must at once invade the Kingdom of Murcia; and they all offered to follow him at their own cost and provisioning and said they would never fail him whilst there was life in them and until he had completed the said conquest.

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And of this the said Lord King was very joyous and content and gave them great thanks and immediately ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro should make an incursion into the kingdom of Murcia, in order to reconnoitre all that kingdom. The Lord Infante En Pedro had a battle arrayed of many richs homens and knights of Catalonia and Aragon and of the kingdom of Valencia, and citizens and seamen and almugavars; and, overrunning the said kingdom by land and sea, went about, sacking and laying waste the whole country. And in each place he remained until he had destroyed it quite. First he laid waste and destroyed all the country around Alicante and Nompot and Aquast, and then he destroyed Elche and the vale of Elda and of Novelda and Villena and Aspe and Petrel and Crevillente and Catral and Abanilla, and Collosa, and Guardamar, and Orihuela. And he went as far as up to the castle of Montagut, which is in the huerta of Murcia, and that place he wasted and destroyed. And the Saracen king of Murcia came out to meet him with all his power of horse and foot. And the said Lord Infante was two days awaiting him in order of battle, but the king of Murcia dared not fight with him. And, assuredly, if it had not been for the acequias[1] which were between the two hosts, the Lord Infante would have attacked, but the acequias were so wide and the water in them so deep, that he could not do it. Nevertheless there were many fine feats of arms, and in one hand-to-hand fight the Lord Infante had, it was found that he had killed, with his own hand, ten jinetes[2] and, where

[1] Irrigation canals.

[2] Knights on small horses, light cavalry, nowadays any rider. Lafuente derives the word from "Zeneta" a Moorish tribe. "These Beni-Merines who had founded a new Empire in that Africa from which so often had come both salvation and servitude to the muselmans of Spain were descendants of the zenetas, called zinetes by our historians" (*Historida de Espaśa*). Ben Athamar, King of Granada, summoned the zenetas to Spain and by their help defeated Alfonso X of Castille in 1262, in the great battle of Alcalá la Real.

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he attacked, do not imagine they dared face him. What shall I tell you? For a whole month he remained in the said kingdom with his hosts, burning and sacking; and all who were with him became wealthy men and prosperous from the great spoils they carried away, as well of captives, male and female, as of goods, and of cattle they drove off. The Lord Infante sent to the Lord King, his father, full a thousand head of big cattle and full twenty thousand of small cattle, and full a thousand male Saracen captives, and full a thousand female Saracen captives. And of these captives the said Lord King gave and presented, of the males, some to the Pope, some to the cardinals and to the Emperor Frederick and to the King of France and to counts and barons and to friends of his own. And the female captives he gave to the Lady Queen of France, his daughter, and to countesses and to other noble ladies, so that he left none for himself, but rather distributed and gave them all away; of which the Holy Father and the cardinals and other powers of the Christian world were very joyous and content, and made processions in honour of Our Lord the true God, Who had given this victory to the Lord Infante.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the Infante En Pedro returned from the Kingdom of Murcia; and of the feasts the Lord King En Jaime made for him; and how he decided to go to Aragon and to leave the Lord Infante En Pedro as procurator and vicar-general for the whole of the Kingdom of Valencia.

And then the Lord Infante, with all the following which had gone with him, came to the city of Valencia and he found there the Lord King En Jaime, his father, who made great feasts and rejoicings for them. And

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when the feast for his arrival was over, the said Lord King took the Lord Infante into a chamber and asked him about all he had done and all that had happened to him since they had parted; and the Lord Infante related everything to him. Yet he took good care not to tell him of any feats of arms that he had performed himself, but would have punished all who had told anything about them. And so the Lord King had great pleasure and great joy of what the Lord Infante had recounted of what had happened to him; and, above all, had he great pleasure when he saw and heard the good sense and the good understanding of the said Lord Infante. And after this discourse, the Lord King asked the Lord Infante what he advised him to do in the matter of the conquest, and if it did not seem to him time to begin it, and required him to tell him his opinion. And the Lord Infante answered: "Father and Lord, my advice is not important enough to give to you and your wisdom; but nevertheless, Lord, I will tell you my opinion and afterwards you will do what seems best to you, and God, in His Goodness, will guide you. My advice, Father and Lord, would be this: that you, in due time, go and visit Aragon and Catalonia and Montpellier and all your other territories and leave me on the frontier; and I will wage a fierce war in such manner that the Saracens will be unable to sow, or if they sow, unable to reap. And a year hence you, my Lord, will be back in Valencia with your forces at a favourable time, in the month of April, when they should begin their harvest; for, in April, they begin already to reap the wheat in those countries which produce early harvests. And then, my Lord, you will enter the country and will advance until you come to the city of Murcia and there you will lay your siege. And whilst you are at the siege, I shall harry the whole country and hold the passes, so that no help from the King of Granada can come; and thus you will destroy

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the city and all the kingdom, big as it is." And the Lord King said: "I consider your advice good and I wish that the matter be arranged as you have ordained and planned." And he at once sent his letters throughout all the Kingdom of Valencia, as well for the richs homens as to the prelates and other men and knights and townsmen, to bid them all be in the city of Valencia by a fixed day. And it was done as he ordered.

And on that day, when they were all together in the cloister of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Cathedral of Valencia, the Lord King made a great sermon and spoke many words appropriate to the times and commended the Lord Infante En Pedro to all, as chief and head, and commanded them to look upon him and obey him as they would himself, as having full power; and that he left him in all respects as his vicar and procurator, for all the Kingdom of Valencia. And all, unanimously, accepted the said Lord Infante, with great joy and content, as having all power the Lord King his father gave him. And the said Lord Infante likewise received this power very joyously. He had special content in that he knew that he was to remain in a place in which he would have to perform feats of arms daily. But he dissembled as well as he could, in order that the Lord King, his father, should not know his eagerness; assuredly, if the Lord King, his father, had known the tenth part of the perils he would encounter in those two kingdoms, he would not have let him go there, for he would have feared greatly to lose him. But so secret did he keep the dangers he would run in feats of arms, that the Lord King knew nothing of them; rather he thought that the said Lord Infante would conduct the war with great prudence and understanding. And thus, certainly, it was as he thought, but besides this, when the time came there was no bridge nor outwork that would keep back the Lord Infante; for, where he knew there was the

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hardest fighting, or he knew there would be, there he always was. Wherefore the fights had all the better issue, for certainly, where a man sees his natural Lord, he thinks of nought but of defending his person and his honour. Do not imagine that on such occasion anyone remembers his wife, or his son, or his daughter, or anything in the world, but only how to help his Lord to leave the battlefield with honour and victory and safe in person. And this the Catalans and Aragonese and all the subjects of the said Lord King of Aragon have more at heart than any other people in the world, for they are full of true love for their sovereigns.

CHAPTER XV.

How the Lord King En Jaime entered Aragon, and went to visit Montpellier; and the reason why Montpellier, belonging to the house of Aragon, put itself under the overlordship of the House of France; and how the Infante En Pedro made war upon the Saracen King of Murcia.

And so the court separated in great joy and concord, and the said Lord King entered Aragon and afterwards Catalonia and Roussillon, and went to Montpellier, for it is natural that every man and every creature should love the country and place in which he was born. Wherefore the Lord King, as he was born at Montpellier, always loved that place much, and all the lords who are his descendants should love it likewise, because of the miracle God manifested there in the said Lord King's birth. And so I would have you know that the Lord King of Aragon had, and still has, no vassals who can love the descendants of the said Lord King En Jaime as do the good people who are natives of Montpellier. But, from that day to this, because of its good government, there have come to

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it from Cahors and from Figeac and from San Antonio and from many other places, men who do not belong to Montpellier by birth and who were pleased that the House of France should establish itself there.[1] But you may be sure that this did not please and never will please those who are natives of Montpellier. Wherefore, certainly, the inhabitants of all the territories of the descendants of the said Lord King should wish and endeavour to love and honour the men of Montpellier; for that city should not be despoiled because of thirty or forty houses that the aforementioned strangers have come to inhabit. Rather, I request and pray the lords and richs homens and knights and citizens and merchants and masters of ships and mariners and almugavars and footsoldiers of the dominions of the Lord King of Aragon and of Mallorca and of Sicily, that they love and honour all those of Montpellier who fall into their power. And if they do this, by the grace of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary of Valencia and of the Tables of Montpellier, and by the favour of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon who was born there, they will have deserved well in this world and in the next, and at the same time they will act courteously towards the said Lord King and will thus preserve, if it be God's pleasure, the righteous love which should exist, now and ever, between us and them.

And when the Lord King had left Valencia, the Lord Infante governed the said kingdom with great strictness, so that there was no Saracen or any other man who moved without cause whom he did not at once punish. And so likewise he conducted the war against the Saracen King of Murcia with much vigour and severity, so that the Saracens did not know what to do; for when they

[1] According to the *Histoire Générale du Languedoc* (Devic and Vaisete), Jaime II of Mallorca acknowledged in a public act on the 18th August 1283 that the town of Montpellier, the Castle of Lates and the other castles and villages of the surrounding country, which William, Lord of Montpellier had possessed, belonged to the House of France. See Chapter XXXIX of Muntaner's Chronicle.

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thought that the Lord Infante was a ten days' march off and they therefore rose, they saw all their places overrun and all they possessed taken and destroyed. Thus he put the fear of him in their bellies, for he pursued this course of life all that year whilst the Lord King was going about, disporting, in his dominions. And he spent nights in the open, and suffered cold and heat and hunger and distress in pursuit of the Saracens; for he was persuaded that he ought not to have a day's rest, but rather on great festival days, when the Saracens might think that he was at the feast, on that day he would fall upon them, routing them, taking them captive and destroying their property. As you may be sure, there never was born a king's son of as high courage, nor more bold or valiant, nor of a more handsome person, nor more wise, nor more dexterous. For of him can be said what is said of one full of all graces, which is, that he is neither an angel nor a devil, but a perfect man. Certainly, this saying can be applied to the Lord Infante, for he is truly a man endowed with all graces.

And so, during that time, the said Lord King, his father, went to visit his territories and places with much cheer and pleasure.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the Lord King En Jaime returned to Valencia on the day ordained with a great force and laid siege to the city of Murcia; and how he took it by treaty and in what year.

At the time appointed the Lord King came into the Kingdom of Valencia with a great part of his forces. His intention was to enter Valencia so well armed and equipped by land and by sea that no king could ever say that he marched against another king better armed and equipped than he.

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And he entered the Kingdom of Murcia very joyously by land and by sea, and he held the sea in order that his hosts should be well provided with victuals, and so it was arranged. And he took the castle and town of Alicante and of Elche and all the other places I have named to you already, which are in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, and he laid siege to the city of Murcia which is a very noble and important city and very strong and has perhaps the strongest walls of any city of the world. And as soon as he arrived before the said city, he so ordained the siege that, from no side could any man enter. Should I tell you much about it? The siege lasted so long that the city became his by a treaty with the Saracens, who surrendered it, namely half the city; and the other half they kept for their needs under his overlordship.[1] A street runs through the middle of the city, one of the most beautiful streets there are in any city of the world; it is long and wide and begins at the market-place, which is in front of the Dominican Church, and goes as far as the cathedral of Our Lady Saint Mary. And in this street are the furriers and the exchanges and the clothiers and many other establishments. However, after the city was thus divided, the Lord King peopled it with his followers and, a few days later, the Saracens saw that there could be no good fellowship between them and the Christians in that city. And so they begged and entreated the Lord King, that it might please him to take their part of the city and people it with whom he thought right and to give them a district which they could enclose with walls and in which they could live in security. And the Lord King

[1] "On occupying a city, it was usual to divide it into 'barrios,' or districts, each of which was granted by way of fief to some one of the ricos hombres, from which he was to derive his revenue. What proportion of the conquered territory was reserved for the royal demesne does not appear." Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella. (Introduction, section II.)

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was glad to comply with their words and entreaties and gave them a district outside the city which they enclosed with a wall, and it is called La Rexaca; and to that
1238 place they transferred themselves. And so the said city of Murcia was taken by the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon in the year men count 1238.[1]

CHAPTER XVII.

How Murcia was peopled with Catalans and how the Lord King En Jaime delivered up all his share to the King of Castile his son-in-law; and on his return to Valencia convoked Cortes and appointed the Infante En Pedro procurator and vicar-general of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and the Infante En Jaime procurator of Mallorca.

And when he had taken the said city he peopled it wholly with Catalans, and so he did Orihuela and Elche and Guardamar and Alicante and Cartagena and the other places. You may be sure that all who inhabit the city of Murcia and the aforesaid places are true Catalans and speak the most beautiful Catalan of the world, and are all good men of arms and expert in all matters. And it may well be said that that kingdom is one of the most fertile in the world. I tell you truly that in all the world not I, nor any other man, could know two provinces that are better and more fertile in all things than the Kingdom of Valencia and the Kingdom of Murcia.

[1] Muntaner's account of the conquest of Valencia and of Murcia is very inaccurate; he confounds the taking of Valencia and the much later re-conquest of rebellious Murcia. Jaime I assisted the Infante Alfonso (afterwards Alfonso X.) of Castile in his war against the Moors. Valencia surrendered to him in 1238 and Murcia in 1241. In 1261 the Moors of Murcia rebelled against Alfonso, who had succeeded his father in 1252, and defeated him. He again invoked the help of Jaime, who, after settling serious differences with his richs homens, came to the aid of the Castilians. The town of Murcia surrendered to him in 1266 and he, with unusual generosity, gave it up to Alfonso, together with twenty castles he had taken in the course of the campaign. Cf. Lafuente, *Historia de España*, vol. IV., ed. of 1889.

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And when the Lord King had taken the city of Murcia, and peopled it and the other places, he delivered up all his share to the King of Castile, his son-in-law, in order that he should protect himself in all and that they should assist each other. To his son-in-law, the Infante Don Manuel, he delivered up specially Elche and the Vale of Elda and of Novelda and Aspe and Petrel. And the Lord King Don Alfonso of Castile, in the same way, made the said Lord Infante Don Manuel chief of all his part, and so these territories helped and defended each other against the Moors. However, the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon gave his share of the Kingdom of Murcia to his son-in-law, King Don Alfonso of Castile, and to his son-in-law the Infante Don Manuel, with the condition that, if at any time he wished to take it back, they should return it, and this they promised and made out a proper document. By this condition the House of Aragon has recovered the said places, and how they were recovered I shall tell you in due time and place.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had ordained and peopled and garrisoned and handed over all the aforesaid places to his sons-in-law, he returned to the Kingdom of Valencia and he ordered his Cortes to assemble in the city of Valencia, and a great number of people assembled. And his sons were at the said Cortes, who rejoiced to be with the Lord King, their father, and with all the richs homens, barons and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen; and the feast which everyone made in the said city was very great. And it was no wonder, for the favours God had shown to them all were so many that the Lord King and the Lords Infantes must have rejoiced greatly before God.

And in these Cortes the Lord King ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro should be procurator and vicar-general of the Kingdom of Aragon and of the Kingdom of Valencia and of all Catalonia, as far as the Pass of Panisars.

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And so likewise he made the Infante En Jaime vicar and procurator-general of the Kingdom of Mallorca and of Minorca and of Ibiza and of the county of Roussillon and of Conflans, and of Cerdagne, and Montpellier; in order that both the Infantes should live like lords with the Queens their wives, and with their Infantes and Infantas, and that these territories should be the better ruled and governed, and that he, himself, should see and witness the good understanding and the good capacity and good government of each. As you may be sure that no man can know another, of whatever condition he be, until power has been given him; and as soon as power is given to a person, whether to a man or a woman, so soon will you know his capacity. Wherefore the said lord wished to ordain and accomplish this also, that so he might have rest, going and visiting all his kingdoms and other territories.

And so, these ordinances made, with which everyone was very well pleased, the Cortes separated and everyone went about his affairs. And the Lord King went visiting all his territories very joyously and cheerfully; and where he knew the Queens, his daughters-in-law, were and his grandchildren, there he went visiting them and giving them presents, and he made great feasts with them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the Lord Infante En Pedro made the nobles En Roger de Luria and En Conrado Lansa knights; and how he gave the sister of En Conrado Lansa in marriage to En Roger de Luria.

And the Lord Infante En Pedro had in his house two sons of knights who had come with my Lady Queen Costanza, his wife. And one was called En Roger de

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Luria and was of noble descent, from banner lords, and his mother, who was called my Lady Bella, had brought up the said Queen Costanza and had come with her to Catalonia; and she was a very discreet lady and very good, and virtuous, and never parted from my Lady the Queen as long as she lived. And so likewise her son, Roger de Luria, was not parted from her, rather was he brought up at court, for he was but a small boy when he came to Catalonia. And his barony was in Calabria, and consisted of twenty-four castles in one district and the principal castle is called Loria. And the said Roger de Luria at the time I speak of, was already grown up and was big, tall, and very much loved by the Lord Infante and by my Lady the Queen and by everyone of the court. And, likewise, there came with my Lady the Queen another high-born boy, who was the son of a count and related to my Lady the Queen, and who was called En Conrado Lansa,[1] and a little sister of his, quite young, who had been brought up with my Lady the Queen. And this En Conrado Lansa came to be one of the handsomest men in the world and one of the wisest and one of the best speakers. Indeed, at that time, it was said that the most beautiful Catalan was that spoken by him and by the said En Roger de Luria. And it is no wonder for, as I have told you already, they came very young to Catalonia and, in every place in Catalonia and in the Kingdom of Valencia they acquired what was best and most beautiful in the language. And so they became perfect Catalans and spoke the most beautiful Catalan.

And the Lord Infante En Pedro made them both knights and gave the damsel, sister of En Conrado Lansa, to wife to the said En Roger de Luria; and she proved

[1] Conrado Lansa may have been a descendant of Count Galvano Lancia, famous during the last years of King Manfred as a strenuous defender of the House of Hohenstaufen.

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a very worthy lady and wise and modest and of a virtuous life. And by the said lady there survived him and her a son called Roger, who would have been a very accomplished man if he had lived long, but he died young, at the age of twenty-two. However, I shall speak of him further on, because it will be fit to do so, for, during the time he lived, he did such deeds that it is right I should speak of him in due time and place. And there also were born three daughters, who were all virtuous ladies. The eldest became the wife of the noble Don Jaime de Ejérica, nephew of the Lord King En Pedro, who was one of the best barons and one of the most honourable of Spain, as well through his father as through his mother, and he was a very virtuous man. And the other daughter became the wife of the noble En Oton de Moncada; and the other was the wife of the count of San Severino which is in the Principality. And that lady, sister of En Conrado Lansa, when she had borne the said children, died, which was a great loss because of her worth, and because of her children who were all still very young. And afterwards the said noble, En Roger de Luria, took to wife the daughter of En Berenguer de Entenza, who is of one of the most honourable houses of richs homens in Aragon and Catalonia. And by that lady he had two sons and a daughter who survived him.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the said noble En Roger de Luria, as I shall speak of him further on, for he was a man whose deeds were such that it is right that I should speak of him. For it can be said that there never was a man, who was not a king's son, to whom God showed greater favour, or who accomplished all things entrusted to him with greater honour to his lord.

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CHAPTER XIX.

How after having entreated and obtained the attention of the readers for speaking out of proper order, the author recounts the great battle of the noble En Conrado Lansa with four galleys against ten galleys of the King of Morocco.

I WILL turn to speak a little of his brother-in-law, En Conrado Lansa, and tell of a fine thing which, by the favour of God and of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, happened to him. It is the truth that the Lord King En Pedro should come first, but I wish to tell and recount it to you now, for it may as well be done at once than later, and I will do it now, whilst I remember the affairs concerning those two richs homens; and it is better to speak now of that deed performed by the said noble En Conrado Lansa than further on. For a man, when he speaks the truth, can relate any deed in any part of the book. And perhaps I should have to speak of it in a place where it would disturb my narrative; and, besides, it is not a long story. And so I pray all to forgive me if in this place or in another they find I tell them things before their proper time. Nevertheless, if they ask me for reasons, I shall give them such as will make them excuse me; but, whatever the reasons I give you, be sure that everything you will find written is the truth, and of this have no doubt whatever. So then I wish to tell you the favour God did to that rich hom En Conrado Lansa.

The Lord King of Aragon has of old a right to a tribute from the King of Granada and from the King of Tlemcen and from the King of Tunis. And because, for a long time, this tribute had not been sent to the Lord King of Aragon, he had four galleys equipped at Valencia and he made the said noble En Conrado commander of them. He went to the port of Tunis and to Bougie and all along the coast, sacking and destroying

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all the ports. He came to the sea of the King of Tlemcen, to an island called Habibas and he went there to get water. And as he came to that place to get water, ten armed Saracen galleys of the King of Morocco also came to that place to get water. And these ten Saracen galleys were the best equipped, and manned by better Saracens of any that ever were equipped and they had already done much injury to lenys[1] which they had captured from Christians and they had many captives in their galleys, which was a great sin.

And when the galleys of En Conrado Lansa saw the ten galleys coming, they left the place. And the Saracens, who saw them and had had news of them already, shouted in their Saracen language, "Aur, Aur"[2] and they came towards the galleys of En Conrado Lansa with great vigour. And the galleys of En Conrado Lansa formed in a circle, and all four collected together and held council. And En Conrado Lansa said to them: "You, my Lords, know that the favour of God is with the Lord King of Aragon and with all his subjects; and you know how

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[1] ". . . . e entre brices e galeases . . . . E axi foren cl lenys capdals, menys de les barques menudes" (Chronicle of Jaime I, translated by Forster and Gayangos). Gayangos appends the following note: "'Brices' pl. of 'brica,' are said to be flat-bottomed vessels destined for the transport of horses and engines of war. But then what are 'tarides' or 'terides'? The meaning of 'lenys,' elsewhere called 'fustes' is, literally speaking 'woods.' About this time 'leño' and 'fusta' served in Castile and in the rest of Spain to designate any kind of vessel." On p. 112 (note 1) Gayangos says: "'Tarides,' tartans, large open vessels used specially for carrying horses. Some such craft appear in the Bayeux tapestry." 'Leny' was evidently used in Aragon and Catalonia much as 'boat' is used vaguely nowadays, applied in ordinary parlance to a steamer, a rowboat, a sailing boat, &c.

[2] 'Aur' might be supposed to be derived from the Spanish word 'ahur' (or 'agur'), but the latter was shouted in retreat, not, as 'aur' on this and other occasions, in an attack. Whether Muntaner in saying "in their Saracen language," means that they were shouting a translation of the word, or whether he means that it is a Saracen word, is not clear. In Chapter LXVII, the Aragonese are reported as shouting 'aur,' 'aur,' in their excitement on embarking for the conquest of Sicily. They had then been three months in Saracen territory and may have caught up a Saracen word. Bofarull suggests that it may be derived from 'augurium,' and that it may have been a technical naval term.

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many victories he has had over Saracens. You may well consider that the Lord King of Aragon is present with us in these galleys, for you see here his standard, which represents his person, and as he is with you, so is the favour of God and He will help us and give us victory. And it would be a great disgrace for the said Lord and for the city of Valencia to which we all belong, if, because of those dogs, we faced about, a thing no man of the Lord King of Aragon has ever done. Therefore I pray you all that you remember the power of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary, and the Holy Catholic Faith, and the honour of the Lord King and of the city of Valencia and of all the Kingdom; and that, roped together as we are, we attack resolutely, and that, on this day, we do so much that we be spoken of for ever. And, assuredly, we shall defeat them and be prosperous for ever. However, you can all see that we have so much the advantage of them that we can retire if we like, and that they cannot force us to fight, if we do not wish to. And so, let everyone say what seems best to him, but as for me I have told you my opinion already. Again, I tell you and pray you and require you, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon and of the city of Valencia, to attack them."

And all began to shout: "Let us attack them! let us attack them! they will all be ours!" And with that they armed themselves well and the Saracens did the same. And when both sides were armed, En Conrado with great strokes of the rowers, advanced towards the Saracens. Some of these told their commander that the galleys were coming towards them in order to surrender, and a great many Saracens were of this opinion, because there was a very accomplished knight amongst them and they did not think the Christians would be so mad as to wish to fight with them. But the Saracen admiral was a wise seaman and had been in many feats

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of arms and had had proof of what the Catalans are, and he shook his head and said: "Barons, your opinion is foolish; you do not know the people of the King of Aragon as I know them. Now be sure that they are preparing well and wisely to fight with us; and they come so ready to die that woe is to the mother's son who is awaiting them. Wherefore as they come prepared to vanquish or die, so put the same resolution into your hearts; for this will be the day in which, if we make not great endeavours, you will all die or be taken captive. Would to God I were a hundred miles away from them; but as things are as they are, I commend myself to God and Mahomet."

And with that he ordered trumpets and nakers to be sounded, and with great shouts they began a vehement attack. And the four galleys, most beautifully, and without shouts and words or any clamour, went to the attack in the midst of the ten galleys and there the battle was most grievous and hard, and it lasted from the morning until the hour of vespers, and no one dared to eat or drink. But Our Lord the true God and His blessed Mother, from Whom come all favours, and the good luck of the Lord King of Aragon, gave the victory to our men, in such manner that all the galleys were defeated and the men killed or taken. Blessed be the Lord Who made it come to pass. And when they had won the battle and defeated and taken all the galleys, they delivered the Christian captives whom they found in them and gave to each of them as good a share of what God had enabled them to take as that of every man who had been in the battle. And so, with great honour and in great triumph, they returned to Valencia with the galleys which they brought there, and with many Saracen captives who had hidden below deck, of whom they had much profit.

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CHAPTER XX.

Recounts the great gifts the Lord King gave to the wives of the Christians who had died in the aforementioned battle; and how good lords make good vassals; and of how it is of much greater advantage to be subjects of the House of Aragon than of any other Lord.

And the Lord King granted the favour that all the booty should be theirs, and he would have neither the Fifth[1] nor any part; and he wished that the wives and daughters of those Christians who had died in the battle should have as good a share of the booty as those who escaped alive, at which all were very joyous and content, and they thought this so rightly done that every man had twice the mind to do well. And this they showed hereafter, in the great fights and battles of which you shall hear later on; for you may be sure that good masters help much to make good vassals. Above all other lords those of the House of Aragon have this quality. I would not say to you of them that they are the lords of their vassals, but rather their companions. He who considers well the other kings of the world, how hard and rough they are to their vassals, and considers the lords of the House of Aragon, and what privileges they grant to their subjects, should kiss the ground which these lords tread. And if they ask me: "En Muntaner, what are the privileges you know the lords of the House of Aragon grant to their subjects more than other lords?" I will tell you. The first privilege is, that they rule richs homens, prelates, knights and citizens and townsmen and landholders with greater truth and justice than any other lords of the world;

[1] The fifth of all booty taken in raids or on the battlefield belonged to the king, and he only renounced his right to it when the raid was *royal*, that is when he gave up his right in favour of his soldiers, to increase their zeal.

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again, that every man can become a greater noble than he was, without fear that, against reason and justice, anything will be demanded or taken from him; and this is not so with the other lords in the world. Wherefore the people of Catalonia and Aragon live in better spirit, as they see themselves living as they like. No man can be accomplished in arms who has not a proud spirit. And then again, there is that advantage with them, that any man can speak to them of anything he wishes and they will listen to him graciously as many hours as he likes and graciously answer him. And besides, if a rich hom, or a knight, or a distinguished townsman is marrying his daughter and requests them to honour him by their presence, they will go and do so, in the church or wherever he wishes. And they do the same if anyone dies or wishes to celebrate an anniversary; they go as they would to their equals, and you must not expect this from any other lords of the world. Also, besides this, at the great feasts, they give a banquet for all people of distinction, and they eat in the presence of all and where all they have invited are eating also, a thing no other lords of the world do. And besides, if a rich hom, knight, prelate, citizen or townsman, farmer or other countryman sends them fruit, or wine or other things, there is no doubt that they eat them; again, they accept invitations to their castles, towns, or villages, or farmhouses, and they eat all that has been apparelled for them, and sleep in the chambers prepared for them. And besides, they ride every day in the cities, or towns, or villages, and show themselves to their people; and if a poor man or woman calls to them, they draw rein and listen to them, and at once relieve their poverty. What shall I tell you? They are so good and gracious to all their subjects that it would take long to write; and therefore all their subjects are full of love towards them and fear not death, if it

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serves to exalt their honour and dominion, but rather are kept back by no bridge nor rampart, and fear not heat, nor cold, nor any peril. Wherefore God increases and advances their people in all their actions, and gives them victory now and will henceforth, if it be His pleasure, over all their enemies.

Now I shall cease to speak of this matter and will speak again of the Lord King of Aragon and his gracious sons.

CHAPTER XXI.

How King En Jaime of Aragon received a letter from the Pope inviting him to go to the Council which was to be held at Lyons on the Rhône; and how King En Alfonso of Castile, his son-in-law, sent to tell him that he wished to go to the Council and to pass through his territory.

When the Lord King En Jaime had thus sojourned a long time in his lands, and the Lord Infante En Pedro, and likewise the Lord Infante En Jaime, there came 272
messengers to the Lord King of Aragon, saying that the Holy Father[1] would hold a general Council at Lyons on the Rhône, and that he prayed and requested all Christian Kings of the world to be present, they or their representatives. Therefore the Lord King prepared to go, and as he was preparing to go as splendidly as he could, messengers came to him from the Lord King En Alfonso of Castile, his son-in-law, saying that he wished to go to the Council and wished to pass through his territory, with the Queen and many of his children, and that for two reasons especially did he wish to pass through his territory. The first was that he and the Queen and his sons had a great desire to see him and

[1] Gregory X.

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the Infantes; and the other that, as he was going to the said Council on such important business, that he wished to have his advice upon it, as a father, and that of the Lord Infante En Pedro and of the Lord En Jaime as brothers. And the said Lord King and the said Lords Infantes had great pleasure at this and, at once, with the messengers of the King of Castile they sent others of great importance, and sent to tell him that they were very glad at their coming, and that he should consider their country at his service as if it were his own. And that he should let these messengers know for certain what part of the country he wished to enter by, and on what day he would come.

CHAPTER XXII.

How King En Alfonso of Castile sent to tell the Lord King En Jaime that he wished to come by Valencia and at what time.

And so the messengers of the King of Castile returned, and the Lord King and the Lords Infantes gave many presents to the said messengers who had brought them this news; so that they returned to Castile very joyous and content, together with the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon, whom he and the Lords Infantes were sending. And so the messengers were well received by the King of Castile, and by the Queen, and by the Infante En Fernando and by the Infante En Sancho and by all the others, and especially when they heard the result of their mission and the good account their messengers gave of it. And so they, likewise, gave many rich presents to the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon, and sent thanks to the Lord King of Aragon

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and to the Infantes for their offer and sent to say that they wished to come through the Kingdom of Valencia, and they told them the time.

And the Lord King of Aragon and the Infantes had great pleasure in this and ordained that, from where the King of Castile would enter the Kingdom as far as Montpellier, provision should be made of victuals and of all else that would be wanted. In such manner was it arranged that never was lord so well provided for than he and his retinue; from the day he entered the country until he was beyond Montpellier he spent nothing of his own, nor did anyone who was with him. And all was provided this time with as much abundance as you have heard before was done last time he was in the Kingdom of Valencia. The King of Castile and also those who were with him, and the Queen and the Infantes marvelled that Catalonia could furnish the means and bear so much expense; they did not imagine at all how fertile and productive the country of the Lord King of Aragon was, as you shall hear further on.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the Lord King En Jaime prepared to go to the Council and of the entertainment he prepared for the King of Castile when he came to his territory on his way to the Council.

Now I shall leave this, to which I know well how to return, and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

When the Lord King of Aragon and the Infantes had ordained all these things, he considered the most splendid fashion in which he could go to the Council, and especially as some cardinals and others, who were amongst the Pope's advisers, had sent word that the

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Council had been summoned by the Holy Father partly on account of the great wish he had to see the Lord King of Aragon and of the great delight he would have in seeing him with two such royal sons-in-law as the King of France and the King of Castile, and with his daughters the Queens, and his grandsons; and how the Pope would rejoice in seeing that great work God did in the birth of the King of Aragon; and he wished to see the good intention with which he came and, likewise, to have his advice, as he believed him to be the wisest lord in the world and the most accomplished in feats of arms and all other feats; and so he could ordain with all Christendom an expedition against the Infidels.

And when the King had settled his march, he went to meet the King of Castile, and he came to the Kingdom of Valencia and wished to know how the victuals had been arranged for. And so everything was shown to him and all was so well ordained and done that there was no need of improvement. And so the Lord King and the Lords Infantes approached the place by which the King of Castile was to enter the Kingdom. And when the King of Castile and the Queen and their children knew that the said Lord King and the Infantes were ready to receive them with great honour, they hastened to come. And as they came to the territory of the Lord King of Aragon, the said Lord King and the Infantes were there and received them with great courtesy and with great rejoicing and, in every place they came to, the people of the Lord King of Aragon arranged great processions and games for them. And from the time they entered the territory of the Lord King of Aragon twelve days passed before they came to the city of Valencia; and when they were in that city, no man could describe the decoration of the houses and the games and diversions, the round tables and joined platforms for jousts between

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wild knights,[1] tourneys, knightly exercises, galleys and armed lenys which seamen dragged along the rambla in carts, and battles of oranges.[2] So numerous were the games they had to witness that, after they had been to the church of St. Vincent, where they dismounted to do reverence on their arrival, it was night before they came to the Real,[3] where the Lord King had commanded that the King of Castile should be lodged. And the Queen and the Infantes were all given good lodgings. What shall I tell you? Fifteen whole days the feast in Valencia lasted, and no artisan nor other workman did any work, but rather, every day, the games and dances and balls were renewed. And the rations the Lord King of Aragon ordered to be given to the retinue of the King of Castile would be marvellous to hear. What shall I tell you? If I wanted to recount it all, it would lengthen my matter and I should be late in reaching my design. But, lastly, I tell you that, on leaving Valencia, they all went to Our Lady Saint Mary del Puig of Murviedro and from Murviedro to Burriana, and then to Castellon, then to Cabanes and from Cabanes to Les Coves and from Les Coves to San Mateo, and then to Ulldecona, and then to the city of Tortosa;

[1] "Arramire bellum seu duellum, est promittere in judicio rem, de quo agitur, duello se probaturum. . . . . Curia generalis Catalanniae in villa Cervariae an. 1359. Insuper ordinavimus, quod dehinch ab. I mensis madii, et ab inde ad duos annos proxime venturas, aliquis baro, miles, homo de paratico, vel homo villae honoratus, nequat aliquem guarrejare, aut arremire, vel juntas de relono facere." (Ducange, who also quotes de Wild Count of the Rhine, and other names accompanied by the same adjective.) The wild knights might be compared to the Italian condottieri. They are referred to in some interesting letters of Alfonso IV seen and quoted by Bofarull. In one of them the king grants some appointment to a wild knight on the ground that he has grown old and had exercised "viriliter oficium juntandi" and that his soul would be endangered if he continued in his profession. In another letter much the same reason is given; the king considers the knight should return to his home after having wandered "per diversas mundi partes, exercendo suum oficium."

[2] The French, Italian and German translators say "bullfights." This, according to Bofarull, is a mistake due to their having taken the four first letters only of the Catalan word "toronjes."

[3] The royal palace.

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and there a feast was made for them just as in the city of Valencia, and they tarried there six days and then went from Tortosa to the Pass of Balaguer and passed through San Jorge (for at that time the Pobla at the spring of the Perallo did not exist yet).[1] And then from the Pass of Balaguer to Cambrils and then to the city of Tarragona. And it would also be endless to relate the honour that was done them there. The archbishop of Tarragona and ten bishops of his province, who are all under the overlordship of the Lord King of Aragon, with many abbots and priors and with a great number of religious and other priests, singing and praising God in a procession, received them, and they remained in the city of Tarragona eight days. And after Tarragona they went to El Arbós, then to Villafranca, which is a good and noble town, where as much honour was done them as could be done in any city; and they remained there two days. And then, from Villafranca, they went to San Climent; then, from San Climent, to Barcelona. And I need not write it, for you can imagine how they were received there; it would be much labour to recount it. But as Barcelona is the noblest city and the finest that the Lord King of Aragon has, you can imagine the feast made there, which surpassed those of all the other cities; and there they stopped ten days. And from Barcelona they went to Granollers and from Granollers to Hostalrich and from Hostalrich to the city of Gerona. And I need not speak of the feasts made for them there, for the citizens of Gerona alone, without the knights, of whom there are many in that district, did so much, that everyone at Gerona marvelled. And they remained there four days. And afterwards,

[1] "la Pobla de la font del Perallo." All the place names in Spain beginning with "Pobla," "Puebla," "Pola," &c., indicate the settlement of Christians in a village or town abandoned by the Moors. (Chronicle of Jaime I, translated by Forster and Gayangos, footnote p. 621.)

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leaving Gerona, they went to Basquera and to Pontons; and then the King and Queen together, with all their retinue, came to lodge at Peralada. And this I know for I was then a youth and the said Lord King of Castile and the Queen lay, that night, in the chamber of my father's house in which, as I have already told you, the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon had lodged. As the King of Castile and the Queen spent that night together, seven openings were made in the house of Bernardo Rosinyoll which adjoined my father's, and through these the King passed to the chamber of the Queen. And so, from having seen it, and not otherwise, I can tell you this for certain. And they remained in Peralada two days, for En Dalmau de Rocaberti, lord of Peralada, had entreated the Lord King of Aragon that he might be pleased to allow him to invite him one day at Peralada, and the Lord King at his entreaty, because he loved him much, told him that he would not fail to satisfy the people of Peralada one day and, the other, by special favour, he would give him. For this En Dalmau gave him great thanks; and so he should, for this was a satisfaction that the Lord King would not grant to any rich hom or prelate in Catalonia, except to him. Therefore it was a thing for which En Dalmau was very grateful to him.

And after they had been two days at Peralada, with great joy and cheerfulness, they went to La Junquera, and from La Junquera to Boulou and from Boulou to Mas, which is a beautiful village belonging to the Templars; and from Mas they entered Perpignan; and do not ask me about the great feast which was made there and lasted eight days. And then, afterwards, they went to Salces, and from Salces to Villafranca, and from Villafranca to Narbonne. And Don Almarich[1] of Narbonne entertained them with great honours and rejoicings,

[1] Alamaric II, Viscount of Narbonne, son of Aymeric V.

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because he and the Lord Infante En Jaime of Aragon had two sisters to wives, daughters of the count of Foix. They stopped two days at Narbonne. And then they went to Beziers, and from Beziers to Sentiberi, and from Sentiberi to Lopia, and from Lopia to Montpellier. The games and rejoicings at Montpellier surpassed all other doings. And there they remained fifteen days and thence sent their messengers to the Pope and there received his answer. And when they had received his answer and had settled their road by which to enter the territory of the King of France, they departed from Montpellier.

And from now onwards I shall speak of the matter about which this book is being written; namely, the honour and favour God has granted and grants to the House of Aragon. And as I consider that this affair was such as redounded greatly to the honour of the House of Aragon, and of their people, I will mention it to you; do not imagine that it was but a little this journey cost the King of Aragon and his sons; rather, I assure you, that it amounted to so much that all Castile could not pay for it in four years. Wherefore, you who shall hear this book and who do not know the power of the Lord King of Aragon, can you imagine what it is? In truth, it would be a difficult thing even for the King of France to pay for it. And if his treasure sufficed, his heart would fail him, for he would fear to be undone. But the Lord King of Aragon rejoiced over it more and more, as long as what he spent was a gift and service to the Pope and others. And so God assists a stout heart, wherefore he gave him full measure of honour in all the events of his life.

Now I shall leave the King of Castile, who has gone to the Council, and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

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CHAPTER XXIV

How the Lord King En Jaime went to the Council and what reception was given him by all those who had assembled at the said Council; and how he received more honour from the Pope and the the cardinals and kings than any other king who had come to the Council.

FIFTEEN days after the King of Castile had departed from Montpellier the Lord King of Aragon went to the 1274
said Council,[1] and his reception on entering the city of Lyons on the Rhône was a mighty affair, for there was no king nor count, nor baron, nor cardinal, archbishop, bishop, or abbot, or prior, who did not issue forth to receive him; and the King of Castile and his sons went out to meet him a day before all the others. And when they came to the Pope, he came out of his chamber and kissed him three times on the mouth, and said to him: "Son, and mighty protector and defender of Holy Church, I bless you and welcome you." And the King wanted to kiss his hand, but the Pope would not suffer it. And at once he invited him and his followers for the next day, a thing he had not done to any other king who had come to the Council. The said Lord King received more honour and gifts and favours from the Pope and from the cardinals and from the kings present than any other king who had come to the Council.

And so the said Council began when the Lord King of Aragon had arrived. But of what was discussed and done, I do not wish to speak, for it does not belong to the matter of this book; save that the said Lord King of Aragon obtained and settled all that he asked for merely by word of mouth, in such manner that he was joyous and content, and very cheerfully returned to his territory in good health and with great satisfaction.

[1] The second œcumenical Council of Lyons, May to July, 1274. Jaime arrived on the 1st May and left at the end of May.

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But the King of Castile, of whom I can tell you that he went to the Council expecting to be Emperor of Spain, could not obtain anything, but had to return to his dominions. And on his return to Castile, the Lord King of Aragon provided for him all the time he was passing through his territory much better and with greater abundance than he had done at his coming. But he did not return by the same way he had come, but by Lérida and Aragon. And so it would take very long to describe the entertainments made for him; and he with the Queen and with his Infantes returned to Castile where his subjects had great pleasure and great joy at recovering them.

And from now onwards I shall leave the King of Castile, who is in his country with the Queen and his Infantes, and I shall return to the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon.

CHAPTER XXV.

How, after having returned from the Council and visited his territories, he wished to see in what manner his sons had governed, and was much pleased with it; and how he caused the oath to be taken to the Infante En Pedro as King of Aragon and Valencia, and to the Infante En Jaime as King of Mallorca and Minorca.

WHEN the Lord King En Jaime had accompanied the King of Castile until he was outside his kingdom, and the said King of Castile and his Infantes had rendered thanks to the Lord King of Aragon and the Queen of Castile had done so likewise, and he had given them his blessing as a father, he went to visit all his dominions and territories, in order to say farewell to them, because he wished to dedicate the end of his life to the honour of God and the exaltation of the Holy Catholic Faith, as he had

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done in his youth. And with that wish and intention he went to the Kingdom of Valencia, in order to march against the Kingdom of Granada in such manner that the name of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary should be praised and blessed there.

And when he had visited all his territories, he enquired into and saw the good way of government his sons had followed and were following, with which he was pleased and content, and he praised and blessed God for having given him such good sons. And he commanded Cortes to be held in Aragon, at Saragossa, and there were assembled barons, and the king's retinue, and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen. And when the Cortes were assembled the Lord King preached to them and spoke many good words and arguments, and he wished them to take the oath to the Lord Infante En Pedro, as King of Aragon and as their lord, and to the Lady Queen Costanza, his wife (of whom I have already spoken to you) as Queen. And as he commanded so they all did with great joy and content. And I need not tell you whether there were diversions and entertainments at the said Cortes, for each of you can imagine them. And when the oaths had been taken to the Lord Infante En Pedro and to my Lady the Queen, they all came to Valencia, and there, likewise, were Cortes held, and the oath taken in the same way to the Lord Infante as King of Valencia and to the Queen as well. And then they went to Barcelona. And there also the King convened Cortes and had the Lord King En Pedro sworn count of Barcelona, and lord of all Catalonia, and so likewise the Queen as countess. And all this done, he decreed and made the Lord Infante En Jaime, his son, King of Mallorca and of Minorca and Ibiza, and count of Roussillon, and of Conflans and of Cerdagne, and lord of Montpellier.

And when he had done and accomplished all this by

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the grace of God, they returned to Valencia, with the intention of which I have already told you: that he wished to spend the remainder of his life in increasing and spreading the Holy Catholic Faith and in casting down and overthrowing the faith of Mahomet.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the Lord King En Jaime fell ill with fever in Játiva; and how the Saracens killed En García Ortiz, deputy procurator and vicar-general of the Lord Infante En Pedro in the Kingdom of Valencia; whereat the said Lord King was greatly displeased.

And when he was in the city of Valencia, the Lord King was disporting and making merry likewise, and he went hunting, and to other diversions; and thus hunting, he visited all his castles and towns in the Kingdom. And when he was at Játiva, as it happened to please God, he fell ill of a fever, and he was very ill, so ill that he could not get up; and all the physicians thought badly of his case, and especially as he was more than eighty years old.[1] And you know that when a person is old he cannot behave like a young man. Not that he was not always in his right mind and preserved his good memory.

And as he was thus ill, the Saracens of Granada, who were at war with him, came to know of it, and more than a thousand men on horseback, and many men afoot entered the Kingdom as far as beyond Alcoy. And in this invasion they met En García Ortiz, who was the deputy procurator in the Kingdom of Valencia. And they fought with him, and with a good company the

[1] Jaime I was born in 1208 and was, therefore, in his sixty-ninth year when he died.

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said En García had with him of about two hundred men on horseback and five hundred footmen. And it pleased God that in this encounter the said En García Ortiz and a great number of his companions were killed. When the Lord King, being in his bed, knew this he cried at once: "Bring me my horse and prepare my arms; I will go out against the traitorous Saracens who imagine that I am dead. Do not let them imagine it, for rather will I destroy them all." And his anger against them was so great that, in his wrath, he tried to sit up in his bed, but he could not.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How the Lord King En Jaime, being disabled by illness had himself carried in a litter with his banner to go forth and fight against the Saracens and how, before the King reached them, the Infante En Pedro attacked them so vigorously that he defeated them.

And then he raised his hands to God and said: "Lord, why does it please Thee that, at such a juncture, I should be thus disabled?" But at once he added: "As I cannot get up, let my banner go out and let me be carried in a litter, until I reach the insolent Moors, for I think that when I am there, and they see the litter in which I am being carried, we shall at once defeat them, and so we shall have them all, dead or prisoners."

And, as he commanded, so it was done; but, before he reached them, the Lord Infante En Pedro, his son, had hastened and attacked them, and the battle was very hard and cruel, and no wonder, for to each Christian present there were four Saracens. But nevertheless the Lord En Pedro attacked so vigorously amongst them that he defeated them; yet he lost two horses, and twice two of his knights dismounted and gave him their horses and he mounted and they remained on foot.

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And so all the Saracens, that day, were killed or taken prisoners. And when the Christians set up the banner of the Lord King En Jaime on the battlefield, he was seen in the litter in which he was being carried, and King En Pedro was greatly displeased at this, for he feared that this toil would be harmful to the Lord King, his father. And he started and went towards him and dismounted and had the litter and the banner set down on the ground, and he kissed his father's feet and hands, weeping, and said to him: "Lord and Father, what is this you have done? Did you not remember that I was here in your place and that you would not be missed?" "Son," said the King, "do not speak thus; but what of the insolent Saracens?" "Lord and Father," said King En Pedro, "through God and our good luck they have all been killed and defeated or taken prisoners." "Son," said he, "is that the truth you speak?" "Lord and Father, yes." And then he raised his hands towards Heaven, and gave great thanks to Our Lord and kissed his son three times on the mouth and gave him his blessing many times.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of how the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon, after having confessed and received the Precious Body of Jesus Christ, passed from this life; and of the custom kept up by the people of Mallorca from that day to this.

And when the Lord King En Jaime knew all this and had given great thanks to God, he returned to Játiva, and King En Pedro with him. And when they were at Játiva you might have seen on the one hand great rejoicings at the victory God had given them, and on the other a great disquiet at seeing the King in so parlous a state. However, it was agreed between the Lord King

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En Pedro, his son, and the barons and prelates of Catalonia and the knights and citizens and notables of the town of Játiva and the other towns, that, whilst the Lord King had still the comfort and cheer of the battle which his son had won, they would carry him to the city of Valencia, and so it was agreed and accomplished. And when they came to the city of Valencia all the city issued forth to meet him; and they carried him to the Real. And there he confessed many times and received the Sacrament, and then they administered Extreme Unction, and he received the aforesaid Sacraments with great piety. And when he had done this with the great joy he felt within himself at the good end God had granted him, he summoned the kings, his sons, and his grandsons, and gave them all his blessing and instructed them and preached to them with his good understanding and his good memory, commending them all to God. Crossing his hands on his breast, he said the prayer Our Lord said on the Cross and, when he had said it, his soul left his body and went to Paradise with great joy and content.

And the said Lord King En Jaime departed this life 1276
six days before the exit of July of the year 1276. He ordered in his will that his body should be taken to the Order of Poblet, which is a monastery of White Monks in the centre of Catalonia. And great weeping and crying and lamenting began throughout the city, and there remained behind no rich hom nor retainer nor knight, nor citizen, nor lady, nor damsel; all followed, weeping and wailing, behind his banner and shield, and there followed also ten horses whose tails had been cut off.[1] And this mourning lasted four days in the city, and

[1] This mutilation of horses as a sign of mourning was a custom amongst the Turks. "The Turks were overcome with grief and lamentation at his [one of their admiral's] fall, so that they cut off their horses' tails and, had they been permitted, would have carried off the corpse of their chief." (Geoffrey de Vinsauf: Itinerary of Richard I and Others to the Holy Land, Chapter XIV.)

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then all people of importance accompanied the corpse; and in every castle, town, or village they came to, as formerly they used to receive him with great balls and great entertainments, so they now received him with much weeping and crying and lamentations. With such grief as you have heard the corpse was brought to the Order of Poblet. And when they came there, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, abbesses, prioresses, men in military orders, counts, barons, retainers, knights, citizens, townsmen and men of every condition from all his territories had already arrived, so that there was not room for them all in the roads and in the villages for a distance of six leagues. And here were the Kings his sons, and the Queens and his grandsons born in his time. What shall I tell you? So great was the congregation of people, they were innumerable, so that it was found that never had there been so many assembled together for the burial of any other lord. And in the presence of all, with great processions and many orisons and much weeping and lamenting and great cries, he was buried. God in His mercy keep his Soul. Amen. And this is my belief, that he is with the saints in Paradise, and all should believe this. And when this was done each King went to his territories, and each count and baron and others also. And we can well say for our consolation for the loss of this lord that he was good when he was born, that he persevered in goodness during his life, and in his end was best.

And what the inhabitants of Mallorca ordained pleases me: that every year, on the day of Saint Sylvester and Saint Coloma, on which day Mallorca was taken by the said Lord King, there should be a general procession in the city with the banner of the Lord King. And on that day all pray for his soul and all the masses that are said on that day in the city and in all the island are said for the repose of his soul and that God may save

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and guard his descendants and give them victory over their enemies. Wherefore I would entreat our lord, the King of Aragon, that he do us the favour and grace to order the notables of the city of Valencia to make a general procession in Valencia every year on Saint Michael's day, for the repose of the soul of the Lord King and to pray to God to give increase and prosperity always to his descendants and victory and triumph over all their enemies; and that, as the said city was taken on the eve of Saint Michael by the Lord King En Jaime, all priests and men in orders of the said city should, on that day, say masses for the repose of the soul of the said Lord King En Jaime. And again, for the same reason, that the said Lord King and the notables of the city of Valencia ordain for all time that there should be, on the following day, a general almsgiving. And all will do well who exert themselves the best they can, and they will be pleasing to God and have honour in this world, and especially as there is no charity whatever established in the city of Valencia, as in all the other cities in the world, whom God rewards by increasing and multiplying their riches.

And from now onwards I will cease to speak of the Lord King En Jaime, and shall speak of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon and Valencia, and count of Barcelona, his eldest son; and of his other descendants, each in his time and place.[1]

[1] For the Life of Jaime I see "The Life and Times of James I the Conqueror," F. Darwin Swift, and "The Chronicle of Jaime I," translated by Forster & Gayangos.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

How after King En Jaime had died the two brothers were crowned, namely the Infante En Pedro King of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, and the Infante En Jaime King of Mallorca, Minorca and Cerdagne; and how Catalonia is larger than any other province.

And when the Lord King En Jaime had passed away, the Lord Infante En Pedro and the Lord Infante En Jaime, his sons, were both crowned King; namely, the Lord King and Infante En Pedro went to Saragossa, and there assembled his Cortes, and they placed the crown of the Kingdom of Aragon on his head, with great ceremony and great rejoicing and a great feast. If I wished to tell you all the great presents and favours that were granted, long would the recounting take. And when his coronation was over in Aragon, he came to the city of Valencia and there, also, were great Cortes held, and there came a multitude of people of Castile and all parts, who received from him great gifts and great favours. And he received the crown of the Kingdom of Valencia. And afterwards he went to the city of Barcelona, where he also held great Cortes, and where numbers of people came; and he received with great splendour and rejoicing the coronet by which he was created count of Barcelona and lord of all Catalonia.

And let no one imagine that Catalonia is a small province; rather do I wish everyone to know that Catalonia has, in general, a richer population than I know of or have seen in any other province, though most people in the world imagine it to be poor. It is true that Catalonia has not those large fortunes in money made by certain particular men, as there are in other countries; but the commonality is more prosperous than any other of the world, and they live better in Catalonia and in a more orderly manner in their houses with their wives

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and their sons, than any other people there is in the world. Besides, you will wonder at a thing I will tell you, though, if you examine it well, you will find it is so, namely, that of people of the same language there are none so numerous as the Catalans. If you speak of Castilians, the true Castile is of small extent and importance; for Castile has many provinces, each with its own language, as different from each other as Catalan from Aragonese. For though Catalans and Aragonese are under one lord, their languages are very different. And so likewise will you find it in France and in England and in Germany and in all Romania, as the Greeks, who are subjects of the Emperor of Constantinople form many provinces, such as the Morea and the Kingdoms of Arta and of Vlachia, and in the Kingdom of Salonika, and in Macedonia, and in Anatolia and many other provinces, amongst which there is as much difference in the language as there is between Catalan and Aragonese. And so it is also in the other provinces of the world: thus it is said that the Tartars are numerous, yet they are not, but only seem so, and they subdue many nations of the world, because you will never find that Tartars work with their hands, but they wage war always in hordes with their wives and children. And so you may imagine that, if the Catalans did the same, they would be much more numerous than the Tartars. I say that they would be twice as many, for you know things I have told you of the Catalans which are absolute truth. There are many who will wonder and will take these things for fables, but, whatever may be said, they are true.

After the Lord King En Pedro had received the crowns, and, by the grace of God, had been crowned King, he went about visiting his territories. And, assuredly, it may well be said of him that there never was a lord in the world who, with so few judicial executions, was so much dreaded and feared by his followers; and thus he brought

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such peace to all his dominions that merchants could travel with bags of florins and doubloons and every man go about the country in safety and security.

And so also the Lord Infante En Jaime went to Mallorca and was crowned King of Mallorca, amidst great rejoicing, and with a great feast his people made. And then he went to Roussillon and to Perpignan, and he took the coronet of three counties, namely of Roussillon, of Conflans and of Cerdagne. And on that occasion he held general Cortes, and there came a great number of the barons of Catalonia and of Aragon and of Gascony and of Languedoc; and at these Cortes many rich presents were given. And then he went to Montpellier and there also took and entered into possession of the lordship of Montpellier and of the barony. And when all this was done each governed his kingdom with great truth and uprightness and true justice, to the satisfaction of God and of their peoples.

CHAPTER XXX.

How the Lord King En Pedro deposed Miraboaps, King of Tunis, because he refused to send him his tribute, and how he put in his place Mirabusac, his brother; in which enterprise En Conrado Lansa was commander of ten galleys.

Now I will return to the Lord King En Pedro who went to visit his dominions and all his territories. It happened that when he was at Barcelona, he bethought himself that he should receive the tribute of the house of Tlemcen, and since Mostanzar[1] had died, who was

[1] Almostansir, contemporary of Jaime I, must be meant, but Muntaner's praise is not borne out by Lafuente. "The defeat at Las Navas had scattered the mussulmans of Africa and Spain, and marks the period of decadence of the dominion of the Almohaden. After the death of Mohammed Yussuf Almasir the title of emir descended

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the best Saracen of the world after the Miramamolin[1] of Morocco and after Saladin, Sultan of Babylon,[2] it was altogether not right to forego the said tribute. And he called a council of a great number of his advisers, and especially the noble En Conrado Lansa, and before them all he said to him: "En Conrado, you know that, last year, you went to Tunis to claim the tribute when Mostanzar had died, who was a great friend of Our Father; and you know that they have not sent Us the said tribute; rather, it seems that they want to keep it. And so it is necessary that We should make them rue this and show them Our power. We have decided to depose him who is there now, and put in his place Mirabusac, his brother, as Lord and King. And in this We shall be doing justice and it will always redound to the great honour of the House of Aragon, as everyone will be able to say that We have set up a king in Tunis. Therefore it must be done." "Lord," said Conrado Lansa, "tell us then what moves you to this enterprise; why you will have it undertaken and brought to an issue, so that we all know the reason fully. And when you have told us, each one of us can tell you his mind, which will be for your honour." And the Lord King said: "You say well; I wish you to know that Mostanzar, as I have told you already, was a great friend of the Lord King Our Father and sent him every year his tribute and many jewels. Now, it is the truth, that he is dead and that he has left no son; but there remain two brothers of

to his son Almostansir, a boy of eleven, who spent his life in pleasures unworthy of a king, whose sole care was the breeding of herds and whose sole intercourse was with slaves and shepherds. His death was in keeping with his life for he died (1224) of a wound from the horn of a cow, at the age of twenty-one, leaving no heir." Lafuente, *Historia general de España*, Chapter XIV.

[1] "Miramamolin is a corruption of Amira-l-mumenim, or 'Prince of the True Believers,' the title assumed by the Khalifs of Cordoba of the House of Umeyya from Abde-r-rhaman downwards and, after them, by the Almowahedin or Almohades." (Chronicle of Jaime I, translated by Forster and Gayangos, p. 151, note.)

[2] Cairo.

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his: the elder is called Mirabusac and the younger Miraboaps. And Mostanzar had sent Mirabusac, the elder brother, towards the Levant with a great host of Christians and Saracens, to make all those countries pay taxes, and Miraboaps had remained in Tunis. And when Mostanzar had died and left the Kingdom to Mirabusac, En Miraboaps, who was in Tunis, without waiting for his brother, made himself King of Tunis, and so he is still, falsely and wickedly. And when Mirabusac knew the King, his brother, was dead, he came towards Tunis, and when Miraboaps knew his brother was coming he sent to tell him that, if he valued his life, he should not come any nearer, for he must know that, if he did, he would cut off his head. And so Mirabusac returned to Gabes and there he stayed and is still, and he does not know what to do. Therefore we shall perform a good deed and assist the righteous cause, and especially the carrying out of Mostanzar's intention. And so We will have ten galleys equipped and We wish you, En Conrado Lansa, to be the commander and chief. And you will go with them direct to Gabes and carry Our letters to Mirabusac and to Benmargan and to Benatia and to En Barquet; and these three are the chief barons in Miquia,[1] and the most powerful; and they are men who have great obligations to us, as well for themselves as for their fathers, as the Lord King Our Father had great presents sent to Mostanzar, King of Tunis, who is dead. Therefore they will do all We command them and all you shall tell them in Our name. And arrange with them that they go with Mirabusac and all their power to Tunis by land, and you will go first, with the galleys, to the port of Tunis, and you will sweep the port and take all the ships and lenys you will find there, of Christians and Saracens, and you will also take all those that will come there. And thus you will destroy the city, for no meat or other victuals

[1] ? Mequinez.

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will reach it by sea. And you will also secretly deliver the letters that We are sending to Lomafer, father of the Moabs.[1] And when they of the city see the great distress they are suffering for lack of victuals, they will rebel against Boaps, and especially as you will send to tell them that ten or more galleys of Ours will not leave the port until they have accepted for their Lord and King, Mirabusac, who should be their Lord and King. And as I have planned, so it shall be done, with the help of God."

En Conrado Lansa and all the others of the Council said it was very well said and planned. And as the Lord King wished, so it was done.

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the Long King En Pedro had ten galleys equipped and gave the articles of the covenant which En Conrado de Lansa was to make with Mirabusac, and how all was accomplished as the Lord King had planned.

And, at once, the Lord King had five galleys equipped in the city of Barcelona, and five others in the city of Valencia. And it may well be said that they were so well equipped that they could give a good account of twenty galleys of anyone else. And when the said galleys were equipped, En Conrado wished to embark and to go and take leave of the Lord King, who was in the city of Lérida. And the Lord King gave him the letters he was to carry, and the articles, in proper order, of all he was commanding him to do. And among the other things that were in the articles were these: that as soon as he had had an interview with Mirabusac and with Benmargan and with Benatia and with Barquet, and with the Moabs

[1] **Moabs, Muntaner's name for the Almowahedin or Almohades.**

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who were in Gabes, and had arranged the invasion of Tunis, he should make Mirabusac promise on his oath, confirmed by the others with oath and homage, that, as soon as he should be King of Tunis, he would pay to him the whole of the tribute due until that day; and that from thenceforth and for ever the House of Tunis was bound to pay the said tribute to whoever was King of Aragon and count of Barcelona; and all the Moabs were to confirm this. And besides, that the chief alcaide put over the Christians in Tunis should always be a rich hom or knight of the Lord King of Aragon, and that the Lord King of Aragon should appoint him and could always dismiss or change him as he wished, and that wherever they made war they should carry a banner with the device of the said Lord King of Aragon; whether they made war together with the king, or on their own account; that all should be bound to guard this banner as they would that of the King of Tunis. And again, that the collector of the wine excise, whose office is important, should be a Catalan, and that the Lord King of Aragon should appoint him, because half the dues of the said excise should go to the Lord King of Aragon. And, besides that the Lord King of Aragon should have the right to appoint a consul in Tunis, who shall give formal hearing and judgment to all Catalan merchants, masters of ships, and mariners who came to Tunis or all the dominion, and that likewise there be one in Bougie. And all these things and many other privileges, all set down in documents, the said Mirabusac promised and granted then to the Lord King of Aragon and his followers and confirmed them, and maintained them when he was in Tunis and was King.

And so the said En Conrado Lansa, with the letters and articles, parted from the Lord King and went to embark at Valencia with five galleys and then went to Barcelona, where he found the five other galleys, and

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having thus embarked by the favour of God at this time and in this place, he accomplished all the Lord King En Pedro had commanded and even much more. What shall I tell you? He set up Mirabusac in Tunis as Lord and King, in the manner that the Lord King En Pedro had planned, and he did still more, for, when he entered Tunis with the banner of the King of Aragon, he would not carry it through the gate, but planted it on the tower over the gate. And then, when he had all the said articles confirmed, all as I have told you already, and had received the whole tribute and many rich and splendid jewels, which the King of Tunis was sending to the Lord King of Aragon besides the tribute, he returned, scouring the coast as far as Ceuta, and he took many Saracen ships and lenys, and terides, so that no man ever did his work better. And with this booty he returned to Catalonia and found the Lord King in the city of Valencia, where the said Lord King received him with a kind countenance and goodwill; and of the goods he brought and the jewels, the Lord King gave him a good share, to him and to all the men of the galleys, so that they all gained so much in the expedition, that, with what the King gave them they all became rich and prosperous.

And thus you see what a good beginning God granted the Lord King after he was crowned. Now I shall cease to speak of him, for I shall know well how to return to him in due time and place, and I shall speak of the Emperor Frederick and of his sons, because it suits our matter.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

How the Emperor Frederick was at war with the Church and how, afterwards, peace was concluded with a covenant that he would pass beyond sea to conquer the Holy Land; and how the Count of Anjou undertook the conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily and what was the cause and reason of this undertaking.

IT is the truth that the Emperor Frederick[1] was the greatest man in the world by his descent, and the wisest and most accomplished in all things. And he was elected Emperor in Germany by the consent and desire of the Holy Apostolic Father. And he was elected in the place in which the election should be held and afterwards it was confirmed at Milan and at Rome by the Holy Father and by all whose right it was to confirm it; and he was put in full and legitimate possession of all pertaining to the Empire. But as it pleases God that, in this world, no man can enjoy complete content and happiness, by the work of the devil, discord arose between the Emperor and the Pope: from what side came the wrong, it is not for me to tell you, wherefore I shall tell you nothing about it, but the trouble and the war multiplied and grew between Holy Church and the Emperor, and this lasted a long time. Then, presently, peace was made between Holy Church and him, with a covenant that he would proceed beyond sea to conquer the Holy Land, and that he would be Head of the Christians who are beyond sea or who shall go there, and that the whole Empire would remain under his sovereignty and rule. And, this peace concluded, he passed beyond sea with a great force, and did much good and captured cities and villages which he took from the

[1] Frederick II (1209—1250) inherited his claim to Sicily from his mother, Constance, grand-daughter and heiress of Roger II of Sicily.

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Saracens. And when he had been there a long time, he was obliged to return. By whose fault or for what reason, I will not tell you either, but you will find those who will, if you search for them well. And so, after his return, war with Holy Church began again. And I tell you once more that you will not learn from me whose fault that war was, through whom it began; for it is not for me to speak of it. What shall I tell you? The war lasted as long as the Emperor lived. And when he died he left three sons, the wisest and best ever left behind by any lord (except those of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon), of whom I will tell you later on. And of these three sons he made one, who was called Conradin,[1] heir of all his patrimony in Germany, and the other he made King and heir of Sicily and of the Principality and of the Terra di Labor and of Calabria, and of Apulia and of the Abruzzi, as I have already recounted; and he was called King Manfred. And the other was King of Sardinia and Corsica, and he was called Enzio. And so all of these three lords held their lands with great rectitude and trust in God. Nevertheless the priests tried to dispossess them of all they had, through the sentence the Pope had issued against their father the Emperor. And they urged all the Christian kings of the world to undertake their defeat, and they found none who would do it, and, especially, because the Holy King Louis of France, who reigned in those days, had lived in alliance and in great friendship with the Emperor Frederick; and so likewise had King Edward of England and also the King of Castile and also King En Pedro of Aragon, who had to wife the daughter of the aforesaid King Manfred. And so likewise there was no baron in Germany who was not a kinsman of theirs. And the priests spent much time in their negotiation and

[1] Muntaner all along confuses Conrad and his son Conradin, nor is his account of Frederick's will correct.

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found no one who would undertake this enterprise. And it is the truth that, at that time, King Louis of France had a brother, called Charles, who was count of Anjou, and the two brothers had, as their wives, two sisters who were the daughters of the count of Provence, who was first cousin of King En Pedro of Aragon. And during the lifetime of the said count of Provence, King Louis of France took his eldest daughter to wife.[1] And when the count of Provence died he left another daughter and the King of France arranged that the count of Anjou, his brother, should have her in marriage, with the whole county of Provence. And when this marriage was made, the Queen of France had a great desire to see the countess, her sister; and the countess, likewise, had a great desire to see the Queen. So that, at last, the Queen sent to beg the count and countess, that when he came to France, to the county of Anjou, he would bring the countess with him, in order that she should see her; and they granted her this, so that not much time passed before he brought the countess to Paris, where the Queen was. And the King and Queen, for joy at this, assembled a great court and summoned counts and barons, each with his wife. And when the court was full of counts and barons and countesses and baronesses, a seat was placed for the Queen, for her only, and at her feet, another seat for the countess her sister and for the other countesses. The countess of Provence was so grieved that the Queen, her sister, did not make her sit next to her, that she almost burst into tears. And when she had contained herself a little while, she said she felt sick and that she wished to go to her lodging, and neither

[1] Raymon Berenguer of Provence had four daughters. Margaret, who married Louis IX of France; Eleanor, married Henry III of England; Sancha, married Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany; Beatrice, to whom her father left the County of Provence, married Charles of Anjou after her father's death.

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the Queen nor anyone else could detain her. And when she came to her lodging, she threw herself on her bed, and cried and sighed and showed great grief. And the count, who heard that the countess had gone away without waiting for dinner, was greatly displeased, for he loved her more than any other lord or any other man could love his wife; and he went to the side of her bed and found her crying; and he was all burning with rage, for he thought that some man or some woman had said something to her which displeased her. And he kissed her and said: "Sweetheart, tell me what is the matter, and whether anyone has said something to displease you; for, if it is so, assuredly I will avenge you at once, whoever it may be." And the countess, who knew that he loved her more than anything in the world, and in order that he should not go on thinking this, said: "Lord, as you ask me, I must tell you, for I would hide nothing from you. What lady in the world could be as unhappy as I am? I have suffered to-day the greatest insult that a gentlewoman has ever suffered. You know, and certain it is, that you are the brother of the King of France through your father and your mother and I, likewise, am the sister, through my father and my mother, of the Queen, and to-day, in full court, the Queen was seated in her seat and I, with the other countesses, sat at her feet. By this I consider myself much aggrieved and insulted. I pray you that to-morrow we return at once to our own country, for on no account will I tarry here." And to this the count answered and said: "Ah, countess, do not take this in bad part, for such is the custom; no one should or may sit with the Queen, who is not a Queen also. But be comforted, for I swear to you by the Sacrament of the Holy Church and by the great love I have for you that, if I live, before a year has passed, you shall wear a crown on your head and be a Queen and able

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to sit on the seat of your sister. And this I swear to you, with a kiss on your mouth."

And with this the countess was comforted, yet not so well that grief left her bowels; rather, within four days, they took leave of the King and the Queen and returned to the county of Provence. And the King was greatly displeased that they returned so soon. And as soon as the count was back in Provence with the countess, he had five galleys equipped and he went
1266 to Rome, to the Pope.[1] And when he came to Rome, the Pope and the cardinals wondered on hearing that he had come thus, for they had known nothing of his coming; but, notwithstanding, they received him with great honour and made a great feast. And, on the following day, he sent to tell the Pope to assemble his College, for he wished to tell them why he had come; and the Pope did so. And when the Pope and the cardinals were assembled, they sent to tell him to come. And he came amongst them, and they rose and assigned him his seat, a handsome and honourable seat, as was due to him. And when all were seated he began to tell his purpose and spoke thus:

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How the Count of Anjou went to the Pope and asked leave to conquer the Kingdom of Sicily and how the Pope gave him leave and gave him the crown of the said Kingdom; and how, from that day onwards, he was called King Charles; and how it is manifest that the seed of great damage to Christendom was sown on that day.

"HOLY FATHER, I have heard that you have proposed to all Christian Kings and sons of Kings the conquest of

[1] Clement IV.

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the country of King Manfred, and they have all said no to you. Wherefore I, for your glory and that of the Holy Roman Church and of the Holy Catholic Faith, take upon me the said conquest, in the manner in which you offered it to the Kings. And for this I have come here and have not asked advice of my brother, the King of France, nor of anyone else, nor does any man know why I have come. And so I, if you provide me with the treasure of Holy Church, am prepared to ordain immediately the said conquest. But otherwise, that is, Holy Father, if you do not provide me with enough money, I can do nothing, for neither my power nor my riches are so great that they could suffice. Especially as you know that King Manfred is one of the great lords of the world and lives with great magnificence with much chivalry. Therefore it will be necessary that I begin the enterprise with a great force."

And the Pope rose and went to kiss him on the mouth and said to him: "Son of Holy Church, thou art welcome. In the name of God and the power given to me through Saint Peter and Saint Paul I give thee great thanks for the offer thou hast made to me, and I now put the crown of Sicily and of all King Manfred possesses on thy head and make thee King and Lord, thee and thy descendants; and I promise to provide thee with all the money thou needest from the treasure of Saint Peter, until thou hast accomplished the said conquest."

And thus was it granted to him on that day, an accursed day for Christians, for, chiefly by this grant, was all the land beyond sea lost, and all the Kingdom of Anatolia, belonging to the Turks; rather have they taken since many countries from the Emperor of Constantinople and there have been, are, and will be yet great massacres of Christians. Wherefore it may be said that that day was one for weeping and grief.

And so the count left that Consistory with the crown

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on his head and another crown in his hand, which the Pope gave him, in order that he should put it on the head of the countess, his wife, when he was back in his country, and crown her Queen as soon as he was at Marseilles. And henceforth he was called King Charles. And the Pope assigned him a cardinal, who was his legate, who, in the name of the Pope, together with the said King Charles, should put the crown on her head and crown her Queen of Sicily. And so it was done.

And when this was done and he had taken leave of the Pope and of the cardinals, he returned to Marseilles, where he found the countess, who was very joyous and content, especially when she was crowned Queen. And when all this was done King Charles and the Queen, his wife, entered France and came to Paris, and the two Queens always sat together in one seat, at which they were both much pleased. But if they were pleased, the King of France was displeased with what King Charles had done, and if he could have undone it he would have done so willingly. However, he could not fail his brother, but rather gave him all the succour and aid he could. And so also, all the barons of France helped him, some with gold, some with men, in such manner that he collected a great force and marched against King Manfred and entered his territory.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How King Charles entered the Kingdom of Sicily and defeated and killed King Manfred in battle in consequence of King Manfred's followers going over to him; and how he took all the country of the said King Manfred of Sicily.

And when King Manfred knew that King Charles was marching against him, as he was one of the bravest

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kings of the world he got ready and went to meet him with all his forces at the entrance of his Kingdom and they both engaged in battle very eagerly. And assuredly King Manfred would have won the battle if it had not been for the count of Caserta and the count de la Serra and other barons of his who were in command of the van, and who, at the first attack, passed over to King Charles and fought against their lord, King Manfred, so that the followers of King Manfred were thrown into great confusion. But, for all that, nothing could daunt King Manfred, but rather he attacked valiantly where he saw the banner of King Charles in the battle. And at the spot in which the two Kings were, the battle was most cruel and furious, and it lasted from morning until night. And it pleased Our Lord that King Manfred should there be killed; and his followers, who saw night approach and could not find King Manfred, like discomfited men, fled, each to his country. And this battle was fought in the year 1266 on the 27th day of February. And so King Charles took the Kingdom. And, of this, I do not wish to tell any more, nor how it was, for what I know by hearsay does not touch or belong to my matter. But this only I tell you, that King Charles was lord, after this battle, of Sicily and of all the country over which King Manfred had reigned.

Battle of Beneventa 1266

CHAPTER XXXV.

How King Conradin came from Germany with a great following to avenge the death of his two brothers; and how King Charles took him prisoner and cut off his head at Naples and without opposition remained Lord of Sicily.

And it was not long before King Conradin came from Germany with many followers against King Charles to

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avenge King Manfred and King Enzio who had been killed in the battle. And so he also fought, on a day agreed upon, with King Charles and, as it pleased God, defeat fell upon King Conradin and his followers. And King Charles was victorious and collected the booty, and took King Conradin alive and cut off his head at Naples, to his own lasting injury, for all the princes of the world and all other men blamed him greatly.[1] However, he did so; and after that he did not meet with opposition in his country from anyone, and no man sought to take revenge, until King En Pedro of Aragon, for the honour of the Queen, his wife, and of his sons resolved to avenge these deaths. And of this I shall now cease to speak, for we can well return to it in due place and time; but I will now turn to speak again of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How the Lord King En Pedro went about putting in order and settling his Kingdom and how he had great pleasure in the good conduct of En Conrado Lansa; and of the good order in which the King of Aragon should keep his galleys.

THE said Lord King of Aragon went about to put his Kingdom in order and had great satisfaction in what the noble, En Conrado Lansa, had done and accomplished, according to what he had commanded; and he had set up a King in Tunis, as you have heard. And after that the king set in order all his dockyards, as well in

[1] Villani says that the execution of Conradin excited so much indignation that even Count Robert of Flanders, son-in-law of King Charles and an adherent to his cause, could not restrain himself on seeing Conradin going to his execution, and in the presence of the King, pierced with his sword and killed the judge who had condemned the prince

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Valencia as in Tortosa and in Barcelona, in order that the galleys should be in safety; and he built dockyards in every place in which he thought he ought to have galleys. And I should be greatly pleased if the Lord King of Aragon decided to do what I will say to him, namely, that he order four dockyards to be built on his sea-coast, which would be well-known dockyards; and that two should be for the regular service and the other two in case of need. The two in case of need to be one at Barcelona and the other at Valencia, for these are the two cities of any of his cities in which there is the greatest number of seamen. Of the two others, for the regular service, one should be at Tortosa, which is a noble and fair city and is on the frontier of Catalonia and Aragon, and twenty-five galleys could be equipped there without anyone noticing it until they were out of the river. And, similarly, at Cullera, where men from the Kingdoms of Murcia and Aragon and Castile would come in great numbers, and no one would know it; and when the galleys are fitted out and equipped, they could, thus ready, put out to sea. Indeed I know of no prince or king of the world who has two such fine and such secret dockyards as would be those of Tortosa and of Cullera. Why, Lord King of Aragon, do you not ask your seamen what they think of what I am saying? I am certain those who are judicious will tell you that I speak the truth; how, to the dockyard of Tortosa, all the men of Catalonia and of Aragon would come, and to the dockyard of Cullera, all the men of Valencia and of the Kingdom of Murcia and of the frontiers and places in the direction of Castile. In each of these places you could build a dockyard for five thousand libras, and in each of these dockyards you could have twenty-five galleys, and at Valencia, in the dockyard on the sea, another twenty-five, and then at Barcelona another twenty-five. And thus you would have a

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hundred galleys ready whenever you want them against your enemies. But the twenty-five of Tortosa and the twenty-five of Cullera you could equip without the enemy knowing anything until they are outside the rivers. Wherefore, Lord, do what a good administrator does; there are, in your country, richs homens or knights who, with a small fortune, do more than others with a much greater. And why is this? Through care and good management. Wherefore, Lord King of Aragon, see that you have good care and good management, and thus you will accomplish all you set your mind to do, always remembering, however, God and His might, and then, when you need it, the dockyard of Barcelona and that of Valencia will assist you to accomplish your purpose. And if you order this, consider that with the help of God, you will subdue Saracens, and also Christians who wish to contest your royal sovereignty and that of your descendants. And if they do, you will be able to punish them at once. Your power is much greater than is thought in the world. And you can see this in the book of the conquests the Lord King, your father, made without the help of money or crusades, for the Church gave none. More than twenty thousand masses are said to-day and every day in the countries the Lord King En Jaime conquered without assistance or crusade of the Church. He conquered the Kingdom of Mallorca, and the Kingdom of Valencia, and the Kingdom of Murcia, without a crusade or aid of the Church, from which, to-day, she gets so much that it would be difficult to say that she has as many tithes and first-fruits from five other kingdoms as from these three. Wherefore the Holy Church of Rome, or those who govern it, should consider the increase they get from the House of Aragon and they should make their acknowledgement to the descendants of the House of Aragon. But, however, I comfort

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myself with this, that if the Pope and the cardinals do not acknowledge it, the King of Kings, Our Lord the true God remembers it, and helps them in their necessities and leads them on from good to better.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon considered and resolved that he would avenge the Kings Manfred and Conradin and Enzio, their brother; and how he went to France to see the Queen, his sister; and of the great love between him and the King of France.

AND so the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, when he had heard of the great battles and victories that King Charles had won in the conquest he had undertaken, was greatly displeased, and angry, because of his great love for the Queen, his wife, and because of his sons, whom he loved much. Wherefore he decided that he could never be happy until he had taken revenge. He settled in his mind what any wise lord should settle concerning great deeds he undertakes: he considered the beginning and the middle and then the end, for a man will accomplish nothing unless he considers these three things. And the said Lord King, being the wisest lord in the world, thought of these three things. Of the first I shall say to you that it was the one most necessary for him to consider: before he began anything, he should know who was to help him and of whom he should beware. The other was that he should have sufficient money. The third, that he should act so secretly, that no man would know what was in his mind, but only he himself, for he thought that his intention was such as no man would approve, because it was to undertake a war against the Church, which means the whole power of Christians, and

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also against the House of France, which is the oldest Royal House in Christendom. It was against both these powers that he made up his mind to declare war. And if he had consulted anyone there was no man on earth who would have approved; but he, trusting in God and in the just cause he wished to maintain, thought that, with his understanding and knowledge and with the help of God, he would succeed in avenging the father and the uncles of my Lady the Queen, his wife, and the grandfather and great-uncles of his sons. Anyone can imagine in what affliction my Lady the Queen, his wife, lived when she knew that her father and her uncles had been killed. And the Lord King En Pedro loved my Lady the Queen more than anything on earth, wherefore anyone can bear in mind what Monteyagol[1] says: "War is close to him who has it in the centre of his territories, but closer to him who has it in his mind." And when the Lord King heard the Queen sigh, it pierced his heart, wherefore he considered in his mind all the dangers and decided that revenge should be taken by him. And his mind was made up that he must arrange for the said revenge; a decision he would tell and discover to none, but would first consider how to accomplish the three things I have told you of already, namely: that no one should be able to attack his Kingdom; secondly, that no man should know what he intended to do; thirdly, to collect sufficient money. And so first he thought much about the House of France.

It is the truth that, when he was still Infante and his father was alive, he went one day to France to see the King of France[2] and the Queen, his sister. And he thought that, if he went that year, he would not lose any time, nor be missed on the Saracen frontier, as the

[1] "No doubt G. Muntagnagol, a Provençal troubadour who flourished in the time of Jaime I of Aragon, and Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned, and who dedicated some of his poems to the latter."—Bofarull.

[2] Philip III, le Hardi.

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Saracens cannot make war in winter, so badly are they equipped and clothed, and they fear cold more than any people in the world. And therefore he entered France in January. And when he was in France he was received with great honour, and the King of France was very joyous and cheerful at his coming, and he remained there full two months with great disport and diversions. And he took part in tourneys, and throwing of spears, and engaged in knightly exercises with knights and sons of knights who had come with him and with many counts and barons of France who tried their skill against his, for love of him. What shall I tell you? So much love sprung up between the said Lord Infante and the King of France that they shared a consecrated wafer in Holy Communion, and did oath and homage to each other, and swore that they would at no time, nor for anyone in the world, fight against each other, but rather would help and protect each other against all men. The love between them was as great as it can be between two brothers. And I, myself, have seen the King of France, when he was riding, carry the device of the Lord King of Aragon, quartered on his saddlecloth for love of the Infante, and in the other quarter his own device of the flowers. And so, likewise, did the Infante. And then the said Lord Infante returned, very pleased with the King of France and with the Queen, his sister. And this I have recounted to you because, later on, it will be fit that I should speak of this compact and it will be to our purpose.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

How the Lord King En Pedro thought himself sure of the King of France, and how the King of Mallorca complained to the said Lord King En Pedro of certain wrongs the King of France had done him at Montpellier; and how thereupon the three Kings and the Prince of Taranto met at Toulouse and made a covenant.

Now I shall cease to speak of this matter and shall turn again to speak of the affairs which occupied the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, who remembered the covenant and agreement between himself and the King of France; wherefore it seemed to him he was sure of the House of France and that no harm could come from that side to anything of his, because of the said agreement and oath, and so, likewise, because of the near relationship there was between them, and especially because the King of France had sons who were already grown up and who were his nephews. And so, you see, he thought himself sure of the House of France. And whilst he was of that opinion, the Lord King of Mallorca had an interview with him, and complained much to him of many wrongs and alterations the King of France was working at Montpellier and in the barony. About these wrongs and injuries they, together, sent their messengers to the King of France. And the King of France, having a great special wish to see King En Pedro of Aragon, sent to tell them that he would come to Toulouse, and that they should get ready for an interview there; yet, if they wished him to go to Perpignan or Barcelona, that, for the love he bore them, he would do so willingly. And the Kings, the two brothers, were much pleased with this offer, and sent to tell him that the interview should be at Toulouse. And both prepared to go to the said interview.

And King Charles, who was to be at this interview, sent his son (who was Prince of Taranto at that time,

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and afterwards was King, after the death of his father, King Charles) to the King of France and begged leave for him to go with him to the said interview. And this he did because there was nobody in the world whom he doubted so much as the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon. And he sent to beg the King of France, who was his nephew, to arrange the interview in such wise that he need fear nothing from the said Lord King of Aragon. And this King Charles did chiefly because he intended to pass into Romania against the Emperor Paleologus,[1] who had the Empire of Constantinople against all right; for, surely, the Empire should belong to the sons of the Emperor Baldwin, who were nephews of King Charles. And so he feared that, when he had left his kingdom, the Lord King of Aragon would take it from him. What shall I tell you? All three Kings and the said prince came to the interview, and if there ever was great cheer and content amongst kings and lords, there was amongst these three Kings. But by no means could the Prince find a cheerful countenance nor any comfort in the said Lord King En Pedro; rather was the King very harsh and angry towards him. The King of France and the King of Mallorca took the Lord King of Aragon into a chamber one day and asked him how it was that he did not speak with the Prince; that he knew full well that he was his near blood-relation, as he was the son of his cousin, the daughter of the count of Provence and besides, that his wife also, the daughter of the King of Hungary,[2] was his blood-relation. But though there were many ties between them, they could obtain nothing from him in the end. And the Prince invited the King of France and King En Pedro of Aragon and the King of Mallorca to a banquet, but King En Pedro would not accept it, wherefore the banquet had to be given up. But the King

Sept 1280

[1] Michael Palæologus, 1261—1282.
[2] Maria, daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary.

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of Mallorca showed great civility to the Prince and the Prince to him. And so, on their departure from the interview, the Prince left with the King of Mallorca and I saw them both enter Perpignan, and a great feast was made for them, and the King of Mallorca detained the Prince eight days. Now I shall leave the Prince and return to the interview. When the feast, which lasted full a fortnight, was over, they attended to their affairs. And in the end the King of France promised to the King of Aragon and to the King of Mallorca and swore to them, that he never, neither by exchange nor for any reason, would interpose to make an exchange with the bishop of Maguelonne, nor would meddle with any affairs concerning Montpellier. And so, likewise, the King of France confirmed the good friendship existing between himself and the Lord King of Aragon, which he had signed as aforesaid, at the time the Lord King was an Infante and went to France. And all this done, and many other good agreements made between them, they parted, and the King of France returned to France by Cahors and Figeac, and the Lord King En Pedro returned to Catalonia, and the Lord King of Mallorca, as I have told you before, together with the Prince, went to Montpellier.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

How the King of Mallorca, under cover of a firm and clear compact, was deceived by the King of France who made an exchange with the Bishop of Maguelonne and took possession of Montpellier to the grief of the notables.

And, with these compacts which the King of Mallorca had with the King of France, he slept in fancied security about the affairs of Montpellier, so that under cover of this compact he was deceived by the King of France, who

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made an exchange with the Bishop of Maguelonne for what the latter possessed in Montpellier. And when the exchange was made, the King of France entered Montpellier to take possession of what belonged to the said Bishop; but the notables of Montpellier would on no account consent to it, rather would they let themselves be cut to pieces than that their lord, the King of Mallorca, should suffer such a wrong at the hands of the King of France. And the King of France summoned his hosts against Montpellier and so many people collected, on horseback and on foot, their number was infinite. And the notables of Montpellier prepared themselves very well for the defence. But the Lord King of Mallorca, who knew this, resolved to let the King of France take possession, for, in his heart, he believed that, as soon as they met, he would leave the city to him, in accordance with the covenant between them and for the great love and the obligations between them. And so he sent orders to the notables of Montpellier not to oppose the King of France; and this he commanded under the penalty for treason, for he would have no enmity with the King of France. And he told them to be of good cheer; that he would enter France, and that they should know that he had such ties and agreements with the King of France that he would at once receive the city from him.

And so the notables of Montpellier, however grieved they were, had to obey the orders of their Lord the King of Mallorca and especially because of the good hope he held out to them. And thus you see how the King of France deceived the King of Mallorca. The King of Mallorca entered France and saw the King that time and often; and every time he made some excuse, that, at that season, he could not give up the city, but that he might be sure he would do so shortly. And with such fine words he put him off as long as he lived, and so likewise have all the Kings of France done from that day

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to this. And they were not content to hold and to have the part which had belonged to the bishop, rather have they taken all, which is the greatest spoliation ever made in all the world. Wherefore be sure that, in time, from this wrong will come a great war and great evils, for neither the King of Aragon nor the King of Mallorca can suffer it; wherefore I believe it will cost the House of France dear. Let God in His mercy judge according to the right and reason He has established and establishes.

Now I shall let this be, for I must leave it to the justice and truth of God, from whom all revenge has to come by right, and I shall speak of the King of Aragon, En Pedro, who thought himself safe on the side of the King of France, and who also, in the end, found he had been mistaken, like the King of Mallorca, and even much more, as the deception was greater. But, however, the deception the King of Aragon suffered from the King of France God avenged before it had quite succeeded, as you shall hear further on.

CHAPTER XL.

How the Lord King En Pedro wished to make sure of the House of Castile and how, hearing of the death of his nephew King En Fernando of Castile, he went there and took the two sons of the said King and brought them away and put them in the castle of Játiva; and how shortly afterwards King En Sancho of Castile came to an interview with King En Pedro when the two Kings negotiated and signed covenants.

And so the Lord King En Pedro was, as he thought, very sure of the House of France when he departed from the interview at Toulouse and thought he would also secure the House of Castile. And he came into Aragon. And it is the truth that King En Alfonso of Castile had

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by his wife, the sister of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, amongst others, two sons; the elder, as aforesaid, was called the Infante En Fernando,[1] and the other the Infante En Sancho. And, to the eldest, he gave to wife the daughter of King Louis of France, sister of King Philip, who had to wife the daughter of the Lord King of Aragon. And as King En Alfonso of Castile and King Philip of France were brothers-in-law (whose wives were the daughters of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon) they arranged the marriage of the eldest son of the King of Castile with King Philip's sister, who was called Doña Blanca; and they gave her to him with the understanding that, after the death of the Lord King En Alfonso, as he was the eldest son, he should be King of Castile. And the said Infante En Fernando had by my Lady Blanca two sons, one called King En Alfonso and the other Infante En Fernando. And when he had had these two sons, the said Infante En Fernando, as it pleased God, fell ill and passed from this life, which was a great loss, 1275
for he was a very worthy, upright young man.

And when the Lord King of Aragon knew the death of his nephew he was much displeased, for he loved him as if he had been his son. And he had good cause, for there was no one on earth the Infante Fernando loved as much as he did his uncle, the Lord King of Aragon. A short time afterwards the said Lord King of Aragon entered Castile with a small retinue and he made, in three days and four nights, an eight days' march, so that he arrived where the two sons of the Infante En Fernando were; and he took them and carried them into the Kingdom of Valencia and put them into the castle of Játiva, where he had them brought up in a way suitable to the sons of a king. And this he did for two reasons especially: firstly, because

[1] Nicknamed de la Cerda from a tuft of hair on his chest with which he was born. The nickname became the surname of his descendants.

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of the great love he had had for their father, that no one should harm their persons; and secondly, in order that, if the Infante En Sancho, his nephew, failed in anything towards them, he himself should have these Infantes and could make one of them King of Castile; and thus he would hold the House of Castile subject and tied closely to his will. When the King of Castile knew this, he was very pleased, but I believe that the Infante En Sancho was not. And it was not long before the King of Castile made many of the richs homens of
1276 his Kingdom take the oath to the Infante En Sancho, to be king after him. And when this was done, the
1279 Infante En Sancho had an interview with his uncle, the King of Aragon, for he also loved him much, and said to him: "Lord and Father, you know already that the King, my father, has made many of his richs homens take the oath to me; but it is true that there are some who refused. They would not take the oath to me, because they had sworn that the Infante En Fernando, my brother, should be King after the death of our father. Now, Lord and Father, it should please you better that I should be king, than any of my nephews. I see that this is in your hands, wherefore I pray and entreat you to support me. And if you do not wish to help me, grant me the favour not to oppose me; for if you are not against me, I fear not, under God, that any man could take the Kingdom from me."

And when the King of Aragon had heard what his nephew, whom he loved as if he were his son, had said to him, he answered: "Nephew, I have heard well what you have said and I reply to you if you will behave towards Us as you should and as I expect, be sure that I will not go against you, on condition that you do what I wish, and do oath and homage upon it." And he said: "It is well, Lord and Father. Command what you wish that I should do; for, all you command I

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am ready, now and always, to do, and nothing else. And of this I make oath and homage, as a King's son." Then said the Lord King: "I will tell you what you are to do. The first thing you must promise me is that you will always help me, with all your power, against all men in the world and that, for no reason whatever, nor for any person whatever, you, nor anyone for you, will ever come against me. And the other thing you must promise me is that, when your nephews are grown up and have attained an age of reason, you let them have part of the Kingdom in such wise that they be well endowed." "Lord," said he, "you have named things I promise you, which are reasonable and fair and to my honour; wherefore I am ready to conclude this in the manner you command." And upon this these covenants were confirmed, as aforesaid, with oath and homage and also with public documents. And this compact made between them, the Infante En Sancho returned to Castile, joyous and content, and told everything to his father, who had great pleasure and joy thereat, and confirmed to the Lord King of Aragon all his son had promised. Now I shall let them be and shall speak of the Lord King En Pedro who was very joyous and content with what he had arranged, for he thought himself safe on the side of Castile.[1]

[1] Pedro's action in befriending Fernando de la Cerda's two sons, was no doubt inspired by a more selfish motive than concern for their safety. He could always threaten to set up one of them as a rival to Sancho, should the latter show any hostility towards him. The Spanish historians do not mention Pedro's kidnapping raid and their account of the childhood of the two Infantes is very different from Muntaner's. Lafuente says they were being brought up under the loving care of their grandmother, Queen Violante. Afraid that there might be a plot against their lives, she invoked the help of her brother, King Pedro, and succeeded in 1277 in secretly taking the children and their mother, Doña Blanca, to Aragon. At the instance of her son, Don Sancho, Queen Violante returned to Castile, leaving the children under the tutelage of King Pedro who, shortly afterwards, had the interview with Sancho mentioned above.

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CHAPTER XLI.

How the Lord King En Pedro returned to Valencia where he found messengers from the King of Granada who were asking for a truce, which he accorded to them for five years; and how he proceeded to collect money throughout his country.

AND as soon as he came to the Kingdom of Valencia, he found messengers from the King of Granada, who came to him with great jewels and great presents and asked him for a truce, in the name of the King of Granada. And the Lord King En Pedro, thinking his project was having a good beginning, accorded them a truce for five years. And, assuredly, that is a thing he would not have done for anything in the world, if it were not that he was determined to avenge King Manfred, King Conradin and King Enzio; but that made him grant the said truce. And when this was done he saw that his just object was accomplished, that is, he thought himself safe, that no hurt could come to his country from any side; rather, he could begin the journey on which he had set his heart. And he proposed to accomplish his second object namely, to collect money. And, throughout all his territories, he requested his vassals to help him with money, for he intended making a journey which would be much to the aggrandisement of himself and of all his subjects. And his people, knowing his high courage and his worth, knew well that he was not intending a vain enterprise. And everyone granted him all he asked for, so that he imposed excises and other assistance throughout all his kingdoms and territories, which amounted to countless sums; and his subjects were content with all.

Now I shall let be this assistance which is gathered from all his dominions and I shall turn to speak of King Charles.

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CHAPTER XLII.

How the Prince of Taranto returned to King Charles, his father, from the interview of Toulouse and recounted to him the bad reception he had had from the Lord King En Pedro; and how King Charles, relying only on his own power, resolved to have no fear of the said Lord King En Pedro.

It is the truth that when the Prince of Taranto returned from the interview of Toulouse, he went so long on his journeys that he came to King Charles, his father, who asked him for news of the interview. And he told him all that had happened to him; how the King of France and the King of Mallorca had done him much honour, but the King of Aragon would not at all be his friend but, instead, was harsh and angry with him; whereat King Charles was greatly displeased and knew that King Pedro had that thorn in his heart which he had thought and feared he had. Nevertheless he trusted so much in his own expertness and in his numerous forces that he decided he need not fear the King of Aragon. And, assuredly, he might decide so, for he had four advantages that no other king on earth had. The first, that he was held to be the wisest prince and most accomplished in arms in the world, since the death of the good King En Jaime of Aragon. The other, that he was the most powerful King in the world, for he was at that time king and lord of all King Manfred used to have; and besides, he was count of Provence and Anjou, and, also, he was a Roman senator, and vicar-general of all the Guelph part of Tuscany and Lombardy and of the Marches. Besides, he was Vicar-General of all the Land beyond Sea and chief of all the Christians there, as well as of the Templars and of the Hospitallers and of the Germans,[1] as also of all cities, castles and

[1] Knights of the Teutonic Order.

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towns, and of other Christian nations there now, or who would go there thereafter. And, besides, he had in his hand the Holy Apostolic Father and all the Holy Roman Church, who considered him their great patron and guide. Besides, he had with him the House of France, as King Louis of France was his brother and, when he died, left King Philip as King and warmly recommended his brother, King Charles, to him. And so King Charles counted on him, as if his brother, King Louis were still alive. Therefore, assuredly, considering all his power, little need he fear King En Pedro. And so he pondered this power in his heart and considered not the might of God. Wherefore whoever trusts more in his own power than in the power of God may reckon upon it that God will prove His might to him, giving everyone to know and understand, that His power is the only one, and all others are nothing. And of this matter, of the might of God, I have already spoken so much, that I now need speak of it no more. And so King Charles lived in his trust in the strength of his own power.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Relates for what reason the Island of Sicily rebelled against King Charles and how the said King besieged the City of Messina; and how Boaps rose against his brother Mirabusac and had himself crowned King of Bougie.

And being of this proud mind, he appointed officers throughout the island of Sicily who did and said nothing but what was evil and insolent; and it seemed to them that there was no God in the world but King Charles. They took no account of God or man, and acted so that it was a wonder that the Sicilians did not cut the

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Frenchmen's throats rather than bear with their treatment of them. And amongst other misdeeds this happened at Easter-time: There is a church in Palermo, in the direction of the Admiral's bridge, to which, at Easter, all the city goes to gain indulgences, and especially the ladies of Palermo all go there. And on that day, 1282 amongst others, some gentlewomen who were very beautiful went there; and the French sergeants[1] had gone out and met these ladies, who were accompanied by some youths of good birth who were kinsmen of theirs. And in order to have a pretext for laying their hands on the ladies where they wished, the Frenchmen searched the young men for arms, and when they saw that they carried none, they said they had entrusted them to the ladies, and under this pretext they thrust their hands into their bosoms and pinched them.[2] Then, other men who were walking with ladies and saw this, and saw also that they were beating, with ox-whips, men and ladies who were trying to get away, exclaimed: "Ah God, Our Father, who can bear so much arrogance?" And then this clamour rose to God in such wise that He willed that these insults and many others which had been inflicted, should be avenged and He inflamed with anger the hearts of those who, in this place, saw the outrage. And they cried: "Kill them, kill them!" As this cry was raised, they stoned all these sergeants

[1] This is the only occasion on which Muntaner uses the word "sarjants"; it seems a mistake therefore to identify it, as Ducange does, with "servents," "sirvientes," members of the king's household retainers, young men not yet knighted.

[2] The following three accounts confirm the truth of Muntaner's narrative:—

. . . . Manu intrepidus pectus infra vestes et ubera tangit illicite, simulans quod eam propenderet ipsa partere. B. de Neocastro.

. . . . quidam plus alliis furore vitiosæ libinis forsitan excæcatus in unam ex mulieribus illis temerarias manus injecit atque assereus eam pugionem viri sui sub vestibus abscondisse, temerarias manus illam in utero titillavit. N. Specialis.

. . . . d' undi unu franciscu si prisi una fimmina tucandola cu li manu disonestamente, comu ia eranu usati de fari . . . . Crónica Siciliana.

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to death. And when they had killed them they went about the city of Palermo, men and women, shouting: "Death to the French!" And at once they seized arms and killed all the French they found in Palermo. And they immediately elected Micer Aleynep, one of the respected and wealthy men of Sicily, their commander and chief. And when this was done, they formed a host and went where they knew there were Frenchmen; and their cry went through every place in Sicily, and wherever their cry was raised, there they killed all the French. What shall I tell you? All Sicily rebelled against King Charles and they killed all the Frenchmen they could find, so that not one who was in Sicily escaped.[1] And this happened by the mercy of God. Our Lord the true God suffers the sinner, but, when He sees that he will not amend his evil ways, He sends down upon him the sword of justice. And thus He sent it down upon these wicked, insolent men who were devouring the country and the people of Sicily, a people good and virtuous in all their duty towards God and towards their lord. And so they are to this day, for there is not in the world to-day a more loyal people than they have been and are and will be, if it be God's pleasure, to the lords they have had afterwards, as you shall hear further on. And when this was done, and King Charles knew this damage he had received, he was moved by a great anger and collected great hosts and came to besiege the city of Messina by land and by sea. And he came with a great power, with fifteen thousand horsemen and with countless men afoot and with a hundred galleys against the city which was not then walled and which, it seemed, he would take at once. But all this power was nothing compared with the power of God Who, in His justice, guarded and defended the Sicilians.

[1] One Frenchman escaped; he had earned by his conduct the love and esteem of the Sicilians. His name was Porcelet.

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And so I must let King Charles be, who is besieging Messina, and I must speak to you again of the city of Tunis and of what happened to it. It is the truth that when King Mirabusac was made King in Tunis by the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, as you have heard already, his brother Boaps went to Bougie and to Constantine and, with those two cities, rose against Mirabusac and was crowned King of Bougie. And each of these two brothers was in his own Kingdom, and, later on, Boaps, King of Bougie and Constantine, died and left as King of Bougie, Mirabosecri, his son, and as lord of Constantine, Bugron, his second son.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How Bugron, son of Boaps and King of Constantine, sent his messengers to the King of Aragon to let him know that he wished to become a Christian and his vassal and to give him Constantine and all his territory; and of the wonderful preparations the Lord King En Pedro made to proceed to Collo.

And when this was done, the said Mirabosecri wanted to disinherit and take the said Bugron, if he could. And he, who knew this, thought he would not be able to defend himself, unless it were by the hand of the Lord King of Aragon, and that he would let him know he wished to turn Christian through him, and that the said Lord King should come to Collo, which is the port of the said place, Constantine; and that he would surrender to him the city of Constantine; and that, when he was at Collo, he should go on to Constantine, which is the strongest city in the world; and that he would become a Christian and would give him all the land he possessed and would become his man and his

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godson and vassal; and that he requested him, in the name of Jesus Christ, to accept this, and, if he failed in this, may God visit it upon him, upon his body and his soul.

And the King, when he heard this message which came to him from Bugron, lord of Constantine, lifted his hands to Heaven and said: "Lord, the true God, I give Thee praise and thanks for so much grace and mercy Thou showest me. May it please Thee, if this should be to Thy glory and the good of my dominions, that it may come to a good issue." And the messengers were two Saracen knights, very wise men who pretended they came about the release of some captives. And so they delivered this message so secretly, that no man on earth knew anything about it, except the Lord King. And the said Lord chose two merchants who were very wise and who were notables, and he made them load a ship with merchandise and they went to the port of Collo with the said ship. And the two Saracens went with them, with ten Saracen captives they had bought in order to pretend that they were from those districts. And the Lord King arranged with these two merchants that, when they were at Collo, they, with part of the said merchandise, should go up to Constantine and have an interview with En Bugron, to find out whether what those messengers said was true. And thus the Lord King would find out all, for the said merchants were notables and his born subjects. And he commanded that they should not reveal this to anyone, under penalty of losing their liberty and all their property. And, as he commanded, so it was done.

And when they came to Constantine they spoke to En Bugron about the whole affair in such manner that the Lord King thought the whole business concluded, as did En Bugron also. And the Lord King proceeded at once to have ships built and lenys and galleys and terides

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to carry horses. And so, all along the coast, he had great vessels built and great preparations made for all that is required for a lord's voyage. All people of his dominion wondered at the great preparations that were being made: that, firstly, at Colliure the smiths made nothing else but anchors, and all the shipwrights of Roussillon had come to Colliure, where they made ships, lenys, terides and galleys; and the same at Rosas, and at Torruella and at Pálamos and at San Feliú and at San Pol de Maresma. And of Barcelona I need not speak to you, the work done there was infinite; then also at Tarragona and at Tortosa and at Peñíscola and at Valencia and all along the sea-coast. And in the inland cities were made cross-bows and quarells and crocks and lances and darts and breastplates, casques, greaves, cuisses and shields, and pavesses and mangonels; and in the coast towns catapults were made and in the quarries and other places the stones were prepared for the engines. So that, so great was the work, the fame of it spread throughout the world.

CHAPTER XLV.

How the King of Mallorca and the Infante En Sancho begged the Lord King En Pedro to tell them what he intended to do; and how the Lord King En Pedro would not tell his intentions, except that he commended all his country to the Infante En Sancho.

AND the Lord King of Mallorca came to the Lord King of Aragon and prayed him to tell him what he intended to do and said that, if it pleased him, he would go with him anywhere with all his forces. And he answered: "Brother, I do not wish you to come with me, but that you remain and undertake to guard and

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take care of Our country. And I also pray you, do not let it weigh on you that I do not tell you what I intend to do; for assuredly, Brother, if I discovered my heart to any person in the world I would discover it to you, but I do not intend to do it concerning this journey. And so I again pray you that you be not grieved that I also do not wish for help and succour from any man in the world, but only from God and from my vassals and subjects." And upon this the Lord King of Mallorca, though grieved, did not press him any more. And likewise the King of Castile and his nephew, the Infante En Sancho, acted in the same way; the Infante En Sancho came to Aragon solely with the object of seeing the Lord King; and he offered, on the part of his father and his own, to follow him in person with all his forces, and he said he would have thirty or forty galleys from Seville and from other places on his sea-coast, well armed and equipped. What shall I tell you? The King made him the same answer he had made to his brother, the King of Mallorca, except that he said to him that he commended all his country to him, as to one he looked upon as a son. And the said Lord Infante answered that he willingly accepted this charge, and that the King should command to all whom he left behind as procurators that, if they needed him for anything, they should summon him at once, and that he would leave everything and be with them, immediately, in person, with all his forces. And with this the King of Aragon was much pleased, and embraced him more than ten times; and so they took leave of each other. And the said Lord Infante returned to Castile, and recounted to the King, his father, all that had passed between them. "Ah, God," said the Lord King En Alfonso of Castile, "what lord is there in the world whose spirit could be compared to that of yonder lord?"

1284 And hardly any time went by before King Alfonso of

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Castile died and the Lord Infante En Sancho became King of Castile. And so from now onwards I shall leave King En Sancho of Castile and shall return to the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER XLVI.

How the Infante En Sancho having departed the Lord King En Pedro set out to visit his sea-coast and ordered biscuits to be made and very good provision and sent letters to the men of his country who were to go with him.

AND when the said Infante En Sancho had departed from Aragon and the Lord King, and had returned to Castile, the said Lord King went along the coasts, inspecting all the work, and he ordered biscuits to be made in Saragossa and at Tortosa and at Barcelona and at Valencia. And he had a great quantity of oats and of wheat brought to Tortosa. Indeed, he had so much brought that there was no room for it in the city of Tortosa and huts and wooden houses were made, in which to put it. And he also sent his letters to all those richs homens of his country whom he wished to go with him, telling them to get ready for the journey, with so many knights and so many cross-bowmen and so many foot soldiers. And to each he ordered to be given, on their lands, or where they wished, as much money as they needed. And he commanded that nobody should provide himself with victuals, nor wine, nor oats, for he would provide fully everything that would be necessary for the journey. And this the Lord King did in order that they need not provide anything, except only their personal equipment, and so all should come well arrayed. And so it was done and, until that day, there had never been a voyage made in which the men and horses and

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cross-bowmen and foot soldiers and seamen had been so well arrayed as they were on that journey. And he also ordained that there should be twenty thousand almugavars, all from the frontier, and full eight thousand cross-bowmen from the mountains; and he ordained that a thousand knights, all of noble descent, should go with him, and many cross-bowmen of Tortosa and of Aragon and of Catalonia, and the King's retainers. What shall I tell you? So great were the preparations that all the kings and the lords of the world, Christians as well as Saracens, who had any territory on the sea-coast, were watching and were full of doubt, each one in his territory, because there was no man alive who knew what the King intended to do.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How the Pope and the Kings of France and of England and other Christian Princes sent their messengers to the Lord King of Aragon to beg him to tell them where he intended to go and how all received the same answer.

THE Pope sent to say that he begged him to tell him what he intended to do and that, if he sent to tell him, he might go so far as to help him with money and with indulgences. And the Lord King sent to tell him that he was very grateful to him for his offer, but he begged him not to be displeased if, at this time, he did not wish to tell him his intentions; but that he would shortly do so and that, then, the help and the indulgences would be very welcome. But that, now, he may be pleased to resign himself. And so the messengers returned to the Pope with this answer and when the Pope had heard it, he said: "Assuredly, my belief is that this man will be a second Alexander."

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And afterwards there likewise came messengers from the King of France, his brother-in-law, who sent a similar message to that of the Pope and they returned with the same answer[1]. And afterwards came messengers from the King of England and from other princes of the world, and all returned with one answer, the same for the Pope as for kings and counts. But of the Saracens I need not speak; each Saracen king feared that it was against him that the King of Aragon was going to march. So that it was the greatest marvel of the world to see all the light-houses and watch-towers that were erected all over Barbary. The men of the King of Granada said to him: "Lord, how is it that you do not guard Vera and Almeria and Servenya and Monecha and Malaga? Assuredly, the King of Aragon will fall upon you." But the King of Granada answered them: "Foolish men, what are you saying? Know you not that the King of Aragon has concluded a truce with Us for five years, and do you fear that he will break his promise? Have no fear, but be sure that he is of so lofty a mind and heart that, for

[1] "Ce soit remembrance de ce que li missatge le Roy de France ond dit a le Roy Darago de part de le Roy de France mesire Alexandres de Loayse et mesire John de Carroaix.

"Sire. Le Roys notre sires qui a vos nos a envoyes o ses letres que nos vos avons bailees nos a encharge de nos vos dioms de part de luy que il ha entendu que vos aves fet gran apparell de gens darmes et de navira et que li ond dit que vos deves aler sor mescreans e li autre dient autrement et quand nos partimes de li ill navet ei ancora nuylle certenite de vostre entancion quel part vos deves torner. Si vos fet savoir par nos que si vos tornes vostra empresa sor les enemis de la fe christiana et nostre sires cuy besoyna vos faries en ce faisant vos done victorie o autre avantement il end sera lies et joyans et plus chier vos end hauret. E si vos aves autre entencion il veut que vos saches que qui quonques feret guerra ho autre enuyement le Roy de Secile son oncle o le prince de Salerna son cousin illi deplaret forment. E tot ce qui an contra ens serait fet il tenrroit a fet a soy mesmes. Quod fui factum pud Portum fangos XIII kalendas junii anno Domini M.CC.LXXX secundo."

"Aço es memorial de la resposta quel senyor Rey Darago feu a les paraules que Sire Alexandre de la Loese e sire Jonh de Carreus li dixeren de part del Senyor Rey de França.

"E diu que sa voluntat et son proposit fo e es tota via quel fet que ell ha fet aya fet a entendiment de Deu a servir. Aço fo fet a Port-fangos XIII kalendas junii anno Domini M.CC.LXXX secundo." Archives of the Crown of Aragon (Barcelona), Reg. 7, Petri II, No. 47, f. 118 vo.

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nothing in the world, would he fail in anything he has promised. And would to God he wished me to go with him with all my forces, whether it be against Christians or against Saracens. Indeed I would follow him willingly at my own cost and providing for myself. And so dismiss this suspicion. I do not wish any man in my dominion to increase his vigilance for this reason. The House of Aragon is the House of God, in faith and in truth."

What shall I tell you? All the world was in suspense, waiting to see what this lord would do; but, whoever else may have felt sad or afraid, En Bugron rejoiced. Now I shall leave this matter and shall return to the Lord King of Aragon and to his expedition.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

How, his inspections finished, the Lord King En Pedro convoked Cortes in Barcelona in which he ordained the affairs of his dominion and made his son, En Jaime Pedro, admiral; and to whom he would entrust the care of the affairs of Catalonia and of the galleys; and how on the appointed day all were at Port Fangós.

THE said Lord King went about unceasingly, visiting and hastening on all the work that was being done for him; and all was so hurried on by him that more was done in eight days than would have been done in a month if he had not gone to inspect. And when he saw that the work was nearly finished, he convoked Cortes in Barcelona, and at these Cortes he ordained all his dominion and everything for his voyage, and made admiral a natural son of his, called En Jaime Pedro, who was very gifted, and accomplished in all matters. And the said En Jaime Pedro took the admiral's baton, and he made a knight of Catalonia vice-admiral; a man of good

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and honourable birth, called En Cortada, who was very expert in feats of arms and in all matters pertaining to a knight, and was a man of sense. And when this was done the King appointed a day, the 1st of May, on which every man who was to go on the journey should be at Port Fangós, ready and equipped for embarking. And he ordained that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol should hasten the affairs of Catalonia, as well the galleys as the terides and the ships. And then, likewise, he appointed, in each place, good seamen who hastened the preparations for the voyage in their villages. And at Valencia, the said Lord En Jaime Pedro, who had property in the Kingdom of Valencia, ordained the dispatching of the fleet, as well as of the knights, the almugavars, and the cross-bowmen from the mountains. What shall I tell you about it? In all places, as well on the sea-coast as inland, the Lord King ordered the hastening on of all works and of the companies, in such manner that, on the day he had appointed, they had all come, by sea as well as by land, some to Tortosa, some to Port Fangós. What more shall I tell you about it? All came so willingly that those who were to bring a hundred cross-bowmen brought two hundred; and the same with the retainers who followed their masters against their masters' wish, and asked for no pay whatever. And again, there came also all the chiefs there were in Aragon and Catalonia and in the Kingdom of Valencia, and syndics of all the cities. And so the Lord King came and pitched his tents at Port Fangós where all the shipping was; all were provided already with all they wanted, so that there was nothing more to do, but that the Lord King and the counts, barons, knights, almugavars and retainers should embark.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

How the Lord King En Pedro issued a proclamation that he wished to embark at Port Fangós and say farewell; and how the count de Pallars in the name of all prayed the said Lord King to tell him his intention, which he never would disclose; and of the artifice he used to disclose it to the shipmasters and to the sailors.

AND when the Lord King had ascertained that all was ready, the ships as well as the galleys and other vessels, he was very joyous and content, and had all the people assembled by sound of trumpets, without distinction of class, in order that everyone should hear what he wished to say; for he wished to take leave of them and to embark after having spoken. And on hearing this proclamation, everyone came to where the King would speak, prelates and richs homens and knights and all other people. And when all were assembled, the Lord King mounted on a platform of wood he had had made, so high that all could see and hear him well. And when he stood there, be sure he was well listened to. And he began to speak and said many good words, appropriate for those who were to go with him and for those who were to remain behind. And when he had finished his speech the noble A. Roger, count de Pallars, who was to go with him on his journey, rose in the name of all present and said: "Lord, all your people, as well we who are going with you as those who remain behind, have great pleasure in the good words you have spoken to us and we all beseech you humbly to tell and discover to us where it is your intention to go." And he gave as a reason, that his telling them his intention could cause no delay or injury, as their embarkation was so near, and that all would derive comfort from it, as well those who were going as those who remained; again, that merchants and other worthy people would provide themselves with

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victuals and all refreshments to carry to the army; and again, that his cities and towns would send, all the time, help and succour of all things. And the Lord King answered and said: "Count, I wish you, and all others here present, and also those who are not here present, to be sure that if We knew that Our left hand knows what Our right hand intends to do, that We ourselves would cut it off. Therefore speak no more of this matter, but begin to embark, all those of you who are to go with Us." And when the count and the others heard these strong words the Lord King had spoken, they wished to say no more, but contained themselves and said: "Lord, give your orders and we will carry them out, and may it please Our Lord the true God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court to fulfil your intention to Their glory, and to the increase of your honour and that of your subjects and to give us grace that we may serve you in such manner that God and you be satisfied." And upon this the count of Ampurias, viscount Rocaberti and other richs homens who were not to go on the journey, rose and said: "Lord, may it please you to order that we embark with you, and on no account leave us behind; for we are as well apparelled to embark as those who have notice to go on the journey."

And the Lord King answered the count and the viscount and the others, and said: "We are very grateful to you for your offer of goodwill, which you make, but we reply to you that you who remain will serve us as well as those who are going." And when he had said this, he blessed them all and made the sign of the Cross over them and commended them to God. And if ever there was great weeping and great cries it was here at the leave-taking; so that the Lord King, who was the lord of stoutest heart ever born, could not refrain altogether from weeping. And he got up and went to take leave of my Lady the Queen and the

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Infantes; and he caressed them and blessed them and gave them his blessing. And an armed leny had been prepared for him and he embarked amidst all the benedictions and love amidst which any lord could embark. And when he was on board everyone began to embark also, so that within two days all were on board, and by the grace of Our Lord the true God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all His Blessed Saints, they sailed from Port Fangós to go on their great journey, in the month of May of the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord the
May 1282 true God Jesus Christ 1282. And when they sailed they were more than a hundred and fifty sails, one with the other. And when they were about twenty miles out at sea, the Admiral, En Jaime Pedro, went in an armed leny to each ship and leny, galley, teride and barge, and to each master he gave a letter, closed, and fastened with the seal of the Lord King; and he ordered each master to set his course for the port of Mahon, which is in the island of Minorca, and all to enter the said port and refresh themselves there. And when they had left the port of Mahon and were ten miles out at sea, each should open the letter, but not before, under penalty of death. And when they had opened it, they should set their course as the Lord King commanded in the said letter. And it was done as the admiral commanded.

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CHAPTER L.

How the fleet of the Lord King En Pedro entered Mahon, the Port of Minorca, and of the wicked crime the almojarife of Minorca committed against the said Lord King En Pedro, which was the cause of the head of En Bugron being cut off.

AND all entered the port of Mahon and there refreshed themselves. The almojarife[1] of Minorca came to the Lord King and said to him: "Lord, what do you wish, and command that I should do? For if you come to take the island, I am ready to do what you command." And the Lord King answered the almojarife: "Be not afraid; for We have not come to cause you nor the island annoyance or grief; of that you may be sure." And the almojarife rose and kissed his foot and gave him many thanks and immediately sent so much refreshment to the Lord King and to the whole fleet, that it would be hard to reckon it up. He sent such abundance of refreshment of all kinds that it sufficed them for more than eight days. Nevertheless he committed a great crime, for, that night, he had a barque manned with Saracens and sent them to Bougie and all along the coast and let it be known that the Lord King, with all his fleet, was in the port of Mahon and that, he believed, he was going to Bougie, and that they should be on the watch. And when, amongst others, En Bugron, Lord of Constantine, knew this, he was more joyous than any man could ever be and instead of dissembling, in his great joy, he disclosed his hopes to some intimates and kinsmen of his, whom he trusted in all things. And this he did to prepare to fulfil his promise to the Lord King. And

[1] Almojarife, originally 'tax-collector,' was the title of the official in charge of finances. It was in use, in Aragon and Castile, amongst the Christians as well as amongst the Moors. In time the Moorish title became offensive to the Christians and, at their petition, was changed to 'chanciller.'

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one of those to whom he had disclosed his intentions let it be known to all in the city and to the Saracen knights of the city who were with him. What shall I tell you? Upon this rumour all rose and took En Bugron and cut off his head, his and those of twelve others who had agreed to his plot. And they sent a message to the King of Bougie to come and seize the city and all the territory. And so it was done.

Now I shall cease to speak of them, and shall speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LI.

How the Lord King En Pedro landed at the Port of Collo and how he heard of the death of En Bugron whereat he was much displeased; and of the great number of Moabs who assembled whilst he erected fortifications; and of the great feats of arms that were done with the good help of Catalonia.

June 1282 WHEN the Lord King had refreshed his people, he departed from Mahon and, when they were ten miles out at sea, each master opened his letter and all found within the order to set their course for the port of Collo; and when they came to the town of Collo they landed. But the inhabitants of Collo had fled, so that they only found a few. However, they landed the horses there and all descended on shore. And when all had landed, the Lord King asked the Saracens he had taken prisoners at Collo for news of En Bugron. And they recounted to him what had happened to him, whereat the Lord King was much displeased. However, as he had come, he resolved that the expedition should be completed to the satisfaction of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith, and began at once to make a wall of stakes, with ropes passed through rings, and this wall surrounded

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all the host and the town. And he had the tapiadores[1] brought from the ships in which he had brought them, and they made barricades, and paths of tapia[2] by which the hosts were to come out from behind that wall of stakes. And whilst he was fortifying the host, thirty thousand Saracen horsemen collected around, and so many men afoot that you might have seen the country and the mountains covered with them. What shall I tell you about it? The accursed Moabits went about preaching and stirring up all Barbary and gave indulgences to their wicked race. And, before a month had passed, there had come more than a hundred thousand horsemen, and men afoot without number. And the count of Pallars, who saw this great gathering of people, erected a fort, partly of tapia, partly of wood, on a hill which is near the town of Collo. And from that place the said count of Pallars, with many other men, attacked the Saracens every day, so that they gave their fortified hill the name of Hill of Pica Baralla.[3] And on that hill so many great feats of arms were done every day that it would be impossible to count them. What shall I tell you? If you wished to behold daring and lordly valour you might see them in this place, for when the hand-to-hand fight was at its height and the Lord King knew that the Christians were getting the worst of it, he charged into the thickest of the press and attacked in the midst of the enemy. But do not think that either Alexander, or Roland, or Oliver, or any other man could do what the Lord King was doing every day and, after him, all the others, the richs homens and knights, and almugavars and seamen who were there. And any man can well imagine that the Lord King and his people must needs act thus, as they were in a place where there

[1] Builders of mud walls.
[2] Mud and straw.
[3] 'Pica' point or extremity, 'Baralla' strife or affray.

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was no fortification whatever, rather they were in a great plain without a ditch or wall, except the palisade I have told you of already. And opposed to them were Saracen kings and sons of kings and barons, and Moabs who are the flower of all the Saracens in the world; they were there for no other purpose but to confound the Christians. Wherefore, if the Christians were to go to sleep on guard, you may imagine that they would get a bad awakening. Therefore they could on no account be careless. And, assuredly, whenever the greatest deeds and the most perilous were done, then the Lord King was most cheerful and his people likewise. No host was ever better provided with all goods than this one, and every day the abundance increased. When it was known in Catalonia that the Lord King was at Collo, everyone, as eager as if it were in order to gain an indulgence, began to load ships and lenys with people and victuals and arms and everything that could be of assistance, and all went to Collo, so that there were days when twenty or thirty sails entered, laden with all sorts of goods, and there was a better market there than anywhere in Catalonia.

And when the Lord King had reconnoitred all that country and had seen the forces of the Moors and of the Saracens, he considered that he could easily conquer Barbary, if the Pope would help him with money and indulgences; for the Christians had never been in such favourable circumstances. Never had any Christian king who had come to this country had so much land in Barbary as he then held, neither the King of France nor the King of England, nor King Charles who came to Tunis in a Crusade and with the help of the treasure of the Church. From Jijelli to the city of Bona no Saracen dared show himself; rather, all along that coast, the Christians went about carrying wood to the army. And again, they kept their beasts there, for

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no Saracen dared appear, and there even were Christians who went on three or four days' raids and brought back great prizes of captured men and beasts, so that the Saracens dared not leave their hosts, for they feared they would be captured as soon as they did so. And so it was: every day plenty were captured. For a month you might have seen daily auctions of captives at Collo. And so the Lord King of Aragon thought himself and all the host thoroughly secure; it was marvellous. And sometimes he made a sudden attack with five hundred knights and left the others at the barricades. And when he thus attacked, he scattered the Saracens, so that not two remained together, and so many were massacred that it would be horrible to relate; and so many were captured that a Saracen could be bought for one dobla. So that all the Christians were rich and joyful, and above all the Lord King.

Now I shall cease speaking to you of the feats of arms that were done every day and will speak of what the Lord King had planned.

CHAPTER LII.

How the Lord King En Pedro, being at Collo, sent the noble En G. de Castellnou to the Pope, with the object of asking him to help him with money and a crusade to conquer Barbary.

WHEN the Lord King saw these feats, so glorious and advantageous to Christianity, he arranged to send, as a messenger to the Holy Father,[1] the noble En G. de Castellnou, who was an important chief of Catalonia and a kinsman of his. And he sent him to Rome, to the Pope, with two galleys. And the order was this: he

[1] Martin IV.

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commanded the said noble to embark at once and to go up to the see of Rome and not to tarry in any place until he was with the Pope. And when he was with him, to greet him and all the cardinals in his name and when he had greeted him to beg him, in his name, to assemble his Consistory, as he wished to say a few words to him before them all, on the part of the said Lord King. And when this was done and they were all assembled, he should again greet the Holy Father and all his College from him and speak thus: "Holy Father, my Lord, King En Pedro of Aragon, lets you know that he is in Barbary, in a place called Collo, and he finds that, from that place, all Barbary can be taken. If you, Holy Father, will help him with money and indulgences, the greater part of the enterprise will be accomplished before long. And I tell you that, before three months are over, you will find that he will have taken the city of Bona, of which St. Augustine was bishop, and after that the city of Jijelli, and when he has captured these two cities, which are on the sea-coast near Collo, one to the east, and the other to the west, you may count on it that he will take all the other coast towns within a short time. And Barbary is such that he who has the coast will also have the whole of Barbary. And they are people who, as soon as they see the great distress they will be in, will, for the greater part, become Christians. Wherefore, Holy Father, the said Lord King requests you in the name of God that you render him these services only, and shortly, if it pleases God, the income of Holy Church will be so much increased by it that it will amount to much more than what you will have advanced. You know already how the Lord King, his father, increased the income of Holy Church without any help from her whatever. Wherefore, Holy Father, this I ask and request of you, and that you be pleased not to delay." And if peradventure he should answer you: "Why did

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you not say this to Our messengers, whom We sent to Catalonia ? " you shall answer : " Because it was not the time for him to reveal his intention to you, Holy Father, nor to any other, for he had promised and sworn to Bugron, that he would not reveal it to anyone in the world. Wherefore, Holy Father, you should not be aggrieved." And if, peradventure, he will grant us no help whatever, you will protest in Our name and, in the protest, you will say to him that if he does not send the succour We are asking of him, that, by his fault, we shall have to return to Our country ; that he and all the world know well that we have not so much money that we could tarry here long ; and that God demands this help of him, and he knows well that if he sends Us the help We ask for, we will employ all Our days in the increase of the Holy Catholic Faith, and especially in those parts to which we have now come. Indeed, I command you to urge this cause as pressingly as you can."

" Lord," answered the noble En G. de Castellnou, " I have heard well what you have commanded me to say and to do and, with the help of God, I shall fulfil your command in such manner that you will be satisfied. And give me your blessing and leave and I commend you to Our Lord ; may He defend you and guard you from all evil and give you victory over all your enemies. Nevertheless, Lord, may it please you, you have other richs homens, better endowed than I am, whom you could send ; and I should be much more grateful to God and to you if, in the situation in which you are, I were not separated from you. For, every day, I see you put yourself in places in which it would grieve me to the heart not to be with you." And the Lord King laughed and said : " Assuredly, En G., I am certain that you would have greater pleasure in remaining than in going ; and as to the boldness you charge Us with in

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the matter of feats of arms We can count on you for them as on a man from Catalonia and from Our dominions. But do not be annoyed, for, when you come back, you will still find so much to do that you may well lose the wish for more. And We trust you so well that We think that you will bring this mission and all other affairs of greatest importance to better issue than any other of Our barons. And so, prepare to go, and Jesus Christ guard you and bring you back to Us, safe and sound."

And, upon this, the said noble inclined himself to the ground and wanted to kiss his feet; but the Lord King did not allow it, but rather did he raise him up and give him his hand and, when he had given him his hand, he kissed him on the mouth. And two galleys were got ready at once and well fitted out and he went on board and prepared to go. God guide him to safety.

Now I shall let him be and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and of the great feats of arms done every day at Collo.

CHAPTER LIII.

How the Saracens, in battle array, wished to attack the Christians and destroy the fort of the count of Pallars; and how their intention was betrayed by a Saracen of the Kingdom of Valencia.

It happened one day that the Saracens agreed that they would go, in battle array, to the fort of the count of Pallars, and that they would take it or all die. And whilst they were planning this, a Saracen who had belonged to the Kingdom of Valencia, came in the night to tell the Lord King. And the Lord King said to him: "What day is it they intend doing this?" "Lord," said he, "to-day is Thursday, and on Sunday morning,

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which will be a feast day with you, they think that you will be at mass with many of your barons, and then they intend to make this assault." "Now," said the Lord King, "go and good luck to thee. We thank thee much for what thou hast told us, and We promise thee to give thee a piece of land in the place of thy birth, amongst thy friends. And Our pleasure is that thou remainest amongst these people and let Us know all they are doing; and on Saturday night be with us, to tell us all they have decided." "Lord," said he, "be sure that I shall be with you." And the Lord King had twenty gold doblas given to him and he went away. And the Lord King gave orders to the sentinels and guards what to do in the night: that any night, at any hour the Saracen came, and said "Alfandech" (because he was a native of the valley of Alfandech), they should let him pass safely. And upon this he went away, and the Lord King assembled his council and told them what the Saracen had said. And upon this he commanded every one of his vassals and subjects to hold themselves in readiness, for he wished to attack the Saracens. And if ever there was joy and cheerfulness in a host there was amongst them. A day seemed a year to them.

CHAPTER LIV.

How messengers from Sicily, with great mourning, weeping and sorrow came to the Lord King En Pedro, he being at Collo; and of the good answer he gave them; and of how Frenchmen are cruel people where they have power.

AND whilst they were still at this council, they saw two armed barques, all sails set, and with black pendants, come from the east, and they went direct to the fort and were beached. And if you ask me what they

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were and of what nation, I will tell you: they were Sicilians, of Palermo, and there came in them four knights and four citizens on a mission from the whole community of Sicily, and they were very wise men. And when they had landed they came before the Lord King and threw themselves at his feet, weeping and kissing the ground three times before they approached him. And they went to the feet of the Lord King on their knees and embraced them, and, all eight together crying: "Lord, mercy!" kissed them, and no one could make them get up. Just as the Magdalen washed the feet of Jesus Christ with her tears, so they, with theirs, and weeping, washed the Lord King's feet. And their cries and laments and weeping were piteous. And they were all dressed in black. What shall I tell you? The Lord King drew back and said: "What do you want? Who are you? And whence do you come?" "Lord," said they, "we come from the orphaned land of Sicily, abandoned by God and by our lords and bereft of every worldly prosperity, wretched captives, all at the point of death to-day, men, women, and children, if you, Lord, do not help us. Therefore, Lord, we have come to your Royal Majesty in the name of that orphaned people to entreat your mercy that, out of your grace and charity, by the Holy Passion God suffered on the Cross for the human race, you have pity on them and hasten to succour them and deliver them from the affliction and captivity in which they are. And again, Lord, you should do this for three reasons; one, because you are the most virtuous and upright King in the world; the other reason is that the island of Sicily and all the Kingdom do and should belong to my Lady the Queen, your wife, and after her to the Infantes, your sons, because they are of the sacred lineage of the virtuous Emperor Frederick and of the virtuous King Manfred, who were our legitimate lords; and so, according to the law of God, my Lady

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Queen Costanza, your wife, should be our lady and, after her, your sons and hers should be our kings and lords. And the other reason is that every virtuous king is bound to succour orphans, wards and widows. And as the island of Sicily is widowed, having lost so good a lord as the virtuous King Manfred, you can count her as a widow; and the people are all orphans, who have neither father nor mother, nor anyone to help them, if God and you and yours do not succour them. And the innocent creatures in the said island who expect death, one may count as wards of tender age who cannot help themselves in their need. Therefore, virtuous Lord, have mercy on us, and may it please thee to go and take that Kingdom which is thine and thy children's and deliver the people out of the hand of Pharaoh. For, as God delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, so, Lord, canst thou deliver that Kingdom out of the hand of the most cruel people on earth. For there is no more cruel people in the world than the French, where they have power."

And the Lord King, moved by pity, made them arise and said to them: "Barons, you are welcome; it is the truth indeed that that Kingdom should belong to the Queen, Our wife, and after her to Our children, and We have great displeasure in your tribulation. And so We have heard your message, and all We can do for your good We will do." And they answered: "Lord, God give you life and inspire you to have mercy on us poor wretches. See here letters from every city of Sicily, and letters from the richs homens and knights and from towns and from castles, all ready to obey you as their Lord and King, and then all that shall come after you." And the Lord King took the letters, of which there were more than a hundred, and ordered good quarters and rations to be given to the messengers of everything they and their companions needed.

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CHAPTER LV.

How the Saracen from Valencia returned on the day before the battle and bid the Lord King En Pedro get ready; and how the battle was ordered and won; and how the Sicilians had great joy in seeing the great worth of the followers of the Lord King En Pedro.

Now I shall let them be and shall turn to the Saracens, who were preparing to assault the fort of the count de Pallars on the following Sunday in battle array. And on the Saturday, at the hour of vespers, the Saracen returned to the Lord King and said to him: "Lord, be ready at dawn with all your followers, and prepare your battle in camp." Said the Lord King: "Of that we are very glad." And at once he commanded that the horses should have armour put on at dawn and everyone, as well retainers as almugavars and seamen, should be ready and should all be at the barricades, and that, when the trumpets and nakers of the Lord King sounded, and the standard was unfurled all men should cry: "St. George and Aragon," and everyone attack. And so the Lord King commanded that everyone should go and sleep, but all were so full of joy that hardly anyone could sleep that night.

And when it was dawn every man was ready, horse and foot, where the Lord King was, outside the barriers. And the van was commanded by the count de Pallars and the noble En Pedro Ferrandez de Ixar and other richs homens. And when it was day the Saracens, very well arrayed, came in battle order towards the fort of the hill of Pica Baralla. And when they saw the Christians so well prepared, they were astonished, and held themselves all for dead men. Willingly would they have turned back, had they dared. What shall I tell you? When the Lord King saw that they hesitated and held back cautiously, he ordered the van to attack. The

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standard was unfurled, the trumpets and nakers sounded, and the van went to the attack. The Saracens resisted valiantly so that the Christians could not break their ranks, so numerous were they. And the Lord King charged with his banner and attacked in the midst of them; and the Moors were defeated in such manner that noone of the Saracen van escaped, and countless were the Saracens who died there. Then the Lord King wished to pass over a mountain there was in front of him, but the count de Pallars and the other richs homens cried: "Ah, Lord, for God's sake, do not pass on! If you do so, reckon Collo and the tents lost, for no man is left there, only the sick and women and children. And if we lose the tents we shall have no victuals. And so for God's sake, think of yourself, Lord, for we prize your person above all the world." The Lord King was so enraged against the Saracens that he did not remember any of these things; but when he heard what they said, he considered and thought that it was the truth. He stopped at the foot of the mountain and had a trumpet sounded, and all collected round him, and, at their ease and most cheerfully, returned to Collo and collected the booty. And on that day his people gained so much that they had plenty during all the expedition. And the Saracens were so terrified that they retired more than a league beyond where they used to be; yet so many joined them every day that it would be impossible to count them. However, they were not so bold as to dare to think that they could return again to where they had been. Rather the Lord King had the bodies of the Saracens burnt in order that the district should not become unhealthy.

Now I shall let the Lord King and the hosts of the Christians and of the Saracens be and I shall speak of the noble En G. de Castellnou. However, first I wish to tell you how the Sicilians marvelled at what they had

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seen the Lord King and his followers had done and were doing every day. So that they said amongst themselves: "If it pleases God that this Lord should go to Sicily you can reckon that the French will be all killed and vanquished, and we shall be delivered from all peril. It is wonderful that these people go into battle cheerfully and joyfully, while all others only go when they are forced and in great fear." In truth they never ceased marvelling.

CHAPTER LVI.

How the noble En G. de Castellnou returned from the mission to the Pope and how the answer was that the Pope would give no help whatever to the Lord King En Pedro.

AND when the noble En G. de Castellnou had departed from Collo, he went until he came to the city of Rome with his galleys, and he went to where the Pope was. And when he was before the Pope and the Consistory, he did all the Lord King had commanded, and told the Pope all the Lord King had ordered him to say. And the Pope, when he had heard it, answered as the Lord King had expected and said: "Why did the King of Aragon not send to tell us his intentions when he was in Catalonia as he is doing now?" And the noble answered as the Lord King had commanded him. What shall I tell you? The Pope answered thus: "That the Lord King had hidden his purpose from him and that he would give him now no assistance, neither money nor a crusade nor anything." And the said noble protested in the manner that the Lord King had commanded. And immediately after took his leave of the Pope, angry and indignant, and said to him more than what the Lord King had commanded, thus: "Holy Father, I am going

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away with the cruel answer you have made; and may it please Our Lord the true God that if, through your answer, evil befall Christendom, it may be upon your soul and upon that of all those who have counselled and are counselling this answer." And with this he embarked and went to Collo. And when the Lord King saw him, he went to receive him with much joy, especially as he loved him much and esteemed him in matters of arms and in all things. And he assembled his council and wished to know what answer he had brought. And he told him. And when the Lord King heard the great cruelty of the Pope, he lifted his hands to Heaven and said: "Lord and true God, Who art the Head and Supreme Chief of all, may it please Thee to assist me in my purpose. Thou knowest well that my intention was to come here and die in Thy service; but Thou also knowest well that I cannot persist in this. Wherefore may it be Thy favour and mercy to send to me and my people Thy counsel and help." And then he told and prayed all those of his council, to reflect upon what they would advise him to do and that he likewise would consider it. And upon this they all left and each went to his lodging.

CHAPTER LVII.

How other messengers as well from Messina as from Palermo came to the Lord King En Pedro at Collo, with much greater mourning and weeping than at first; and how all the people with one voice implored the Lord King En Pedro to succour the Sicilians.

AND four days had not gone by when two more armed barques came from Sicily with a similar message to that with which the first had come; but in a much more

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piteous manner, for one of the barques, with two knights and two citizens, was from Messina which was besieged by King Charles, as you have heard already, and the inhabitants were on the point of being all killed or taken. And the other barque was from Palermo and brought two knights and two citizens who came with full power from all Sicily. And they, likewise, came dressed in black and with black sails and black pendants. And, for one lamentation the first messengers had made, these made four. Every man was full of pity; and all cried together: "Lord, let us go to Sicily! Lord, let us go to Sicily! For the love of God do not let this miserable people perish, who should be the people of your children."

And when the richs homens heard the wish of all the men of the host, they went to the Lord King all together and said to him: "Lord, how is it with you? For the love of God have pity upon this wretched people which is thus imploring you. There is no lord on earth, be he Christian or Saracen, has such a cruel heart that he would not have pity. Therefore, as they so urgently beseech you, you must have much more pity on them, for many reasons, which these worthy men have told you already, and which are all true. And all the more as you have seen the cruel answer the Pope has made you. Wherefore believe that all this comes truly from God; for if it had pleased Him that your intention should be fulfilled by your being in this place, it would have pleased Him that the Pope should have granted you help. But it did not please Him that he should grant it to you, because you should go and help this wretched people, And again, Lord, you can see that this pleases God, for you know well that the people's voice is God's voice, and you see this your people of this host all cry: 'To Sicily.' Then, Lord, what are you waiting for? We all offer, for ourselves and for all the host, to follow you and are ready to accept death, and will deal death for the honour

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of Our Lord the true God and for yours and for the restoration of the people of Sicily. And we are all prepared to follow you without pay."

CHAPTER LVIII.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon agreed to pass into Sicily with all his company to succour the island; and how within three days they had embarked.

AND when the Lord King heard this wonderful thing and the readiness of his people, then he raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord, in Thy service and for Thy honour I undertake this expedition and into Thy hands I commend myself and my followers." And he said: "As it pleases God and you, I have resolved to go, with the grace of God and in His keeping and that of Our Lady Saint Mary and all the true Heavenly Court. Let us go to Sicily." And at once all cried: "Aur, Aur." And all knelt down and sang in a loud voice: "Salve Regina." And, that night, they dispatched the two barques of Sicily, which went to Palermo with the good news. And, the next day the Lord King had everything put on board in good order, the horses and everything they had on land, and the last to embark was the Lord King. And when they had embarked, which was done within three days, the two other armed barques of Sicily left, to tell that they had seen the King of Aragon set sail. And may God give us as great joy as there was throughout Sicily on knowing this.

Now I shall leave the Lord King, who is going on a good journey to Sicily and shall speak of the Saracens of Collo.

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CHAPTER LIX.

How the Saracens remained four days not daring to approach Collo and of the great rejoicings they made when they heard the Christians had departed.

WHEN the Saracens saw the sails on the sea, they feared that it was another fleet coming in aid of the Lord King of Aragon; and they remained four days, not daring to approach Collo, fearing a snare; but, at last, they approached little by little. And when they saw that the Christians had gone, they made a great feast and were full of joy. And every man returned to his land with so much weeping and lamentations for the friends and relations they had lost that it will always be spoken of in Barbary. They fear the House of Aragon more than the House of any king in the world. Now I shall let them be and shall turn to the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LX.

How the Lord King En Pedro passed into Sicily and put into the harbour of Trapani; and of the great feasts they made for him; and how they accepted him as their lord and crowned him King.

THE Lord King of Aragon had as fine weather as could be wished, so that within a few days he landed at Trapani, that is three days before the end of August of the year
1282 1282. And so you can know how long the Lord King was at Collo; for he arrived there at the end of May, and landed at Trapani three days before the end of August. I do not believe there is a Christian king in the world who could have remained there so long with only his own forces. And when he had landed at Trapani

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great illuminations were made in all Sicily; it was wonderful. And the notables of Trapani sent runners to all parts and it was marvellous the joy everyone showed. And they had good cause, for God had sent them the virtuous King of Aragon to deliver them out of the hands of their enemies and to be their guide, as God sent Moses to the people of Israel, and gave him His rod. And so, at the signal made by the Lord King of Aragon, He delivered the people of Sicily. Wherefore all may know that this was the work of God Himself. And I need not tell the joy and pleasure all showed when the Lord King and his followers had landed at Trapani. The ladies and damsels came dancing to meet the Lord King, and cried: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life and victory to deliver us from the hands of the wicked French." And all went about singing and, for joy, no man did any business or work. What shall I tell you? As soon as they heard the news at Palermo they sent the greater number of the richs homens of Palermo to the Lord King with much treasure and money, for him to give to his followers. But the Lord King would take nothing, for he said that, until he needed it, he wished for nothing; that he had brought sufficient treasure and money; but that they might be sure that he came to receive them as vassals and to defend them against everyone in the world. And so he went to Palermo, and all the people came out full four leagues to meet him. And he who has ever seen great joy and a great feast can well say that this was the finest and the greatest rejoicing ever made. And here, amidst great processions and games and rejoicings of women and children, they received the Lord King and conducted him to the Imperial Palace. And then they gave good lodging to all who were with him. And so, likewise, whilst the Lord King came by land, all the fleet came by sea. And when all were safe, the notables of Palermo sent messengers to all

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the cities, towns and castles and to the syndics of all the territories to tell them to bring the keys and the charters of every place, and deliver the keys to the Lord King, in token of his overlordship, and to take the oath and homage to him, and crown him King and Lord. And so it was done.

CHAPTER LXI.

How the Lord King En Pedro sent his messengers to King Charles to bid him leave his territory and kingdom; and how King Charles answered that neither for him or for any man on earth would he leave it.

MEANWHILE the Lord King chose four richs homens whom he sent as messengers to King Charles, who was before Messina, as you have heard already; and sent to tell him that he commanded and said to him to leave his Kingdom; that he knew well that this Kingdom was not his, but was and should be that of the Queen, his wife, and of his children; and so that he should get out of it at once; and that if he refused he defied him, and that he must defend himself against him, for he might be sure he would cast him out of it. What shall I tell you? The said messengers went to King Charles and said to him what they had been ordered to say. And when King Charles heard it he said to himself: "Now the time has come for that which thou hast always feared, and the proverb is true which says, that a man will die of that evil which he fears. Wherefore, from this day onwards, as long as thou livest, thou canst not live in peace, for thou hast to do with the most accomplished knight and the most valiant in the world. Now, come what may, for thus it has to be." And after a long while he answered the messengers that they should leave; that he had no intention of forsaking

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his Kingdom for the King of Aragon, nor for anyone else in the world; and that the King of Aragon was to understand that he had undertaken a thing of which he would make him repent. And so the messengers returned to Palermo, to the Lord King. And when the Lord King had heard the answer of King Charles he proceeded to prepare at once to go to Messina by sea and by land. And the Sicilians, who saw his preparations, said to him: "Lord, what do you intend to do?" He said: "I wish to march against King Charles." And the Sicilians said: "Lord, God forbid that you should go without us."

CHAPTER LXII.

How the Lord King En Pedro commanded that every man over fifteen years old and under sixty should be at Palermo with arms and provisions and how he sent a company to the assistance of Messina.

AND, at once, they summoned the hosts throughout Sicily, warning all over fifteen years old and under sixty to be at Palermo within fifteen days with their arms and with bread for a month, and thus the command of the Lord King of Aragon went forth everywhere. And meanwhile the Lord King of Aragon sent two thousand almugavars to Messina, to enter the city by night. And they went, each with his knapsack on his shoulder, for do not think they were taking any pack-mules with them; rather, each carried his bread in his knapsack, as the almugavars are accustomed and brought up to do; for, when they go on a raid, each man carries one loaf for each day and no more; and with this bread and some water and herbs they spend as much time as suits them. And so they went with good guides

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who were of the country and knew the mountains and the paths. What shall I tell you? Though it is a six days' march to Palermo, they reached the city in three. And they entered the city by night, by a place called Caperina, where the ladies of Messina were building a wall[1] which is still there; and they entered so secretly that they were not heard by the host.

Now I shall cease to speak of them who are at Messina and will turn to speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LXIII.

How the Lord King En Pedro was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo and how he left Palermo to go and succour Messina.

And when the hosts came to Palermo, as the Lord King had commanded, all begged him to be pleased to receive the crown of the kingdom. And he granted their wish and with great solemnity and great rejoicing the Lord King of Aragon was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo by the grace of Our Lord the true God. And as soon as he was crowned King of Sicily, he and all the hosts immediately departed from Palermo by sea and by land to go to Messina.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King who is going to Messina and shall turn to speak again of the almugavars who had entered Messina.

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[1] Villani quotes a song of the time about this patriotic work of the ladies of Messina:—

Deh! come gli e gran pietate
Delle donne di Messina,
Veghendole scapigliate
Portare pietra e calcina.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

How the people of Messina were greatly displeased with the almugavars when they saw them so badly clad and how on hearing this the almugavars sallied out and killed over two thousand men in the camp of King Charles whereby the Messinians were greatly comforted.

AND when the almugavars had entered Messina, which they did by night, do not ask me about the joy and comfort there was in the city. However, next morning at dawn, they prepared themselves for an attack on the host. But the people of Messina, who saw them so badly clad and with antiparas[1] on their legs and coarse leather soles on their feet, and nets on their heads, said: "Ah, God, how we have wasted our joy! and what people are these who go naked and stripped, who wear nothing but a shirt and carry neither adarga[2] nor buckler? We cannot reckon on much succour if all the King of Aragon's followers are like these." And the almugavars, who heard this murmuring, said: "This very day we shall show you what we are." And they made them open a gate and attacked the host in such manner that, before they of the host had gathered themselves together, they made such carnage that it was marvellous and that King Charles and his host doubted the Lord King of Aragon was present in person. What shall I tell you? Before they of the host had had time to gather themselves together, as I have told you, the almugavars had killed more than two thousand. And then they brought all the rich booty they found into the city and all entered the city, safe and sound, and in security. And when the people of Messina saw the great marvels that these men had performed that

[1] Coverings for the front of the leg.
[2] Oval leather shield used more especially by the Moors.

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day they reckoned each of the almugavars to be worth more than two knights, and showed them great honour and made entertainments for them; and men and women were so comforted that, the same night, they made such illuminations and such a feast that all the host was amazed and full of fear and grief.

CHAPTER LXV.

How King Charles received news that the King of Aragon was coming to Messina with all his forces; and how he embarked to go to Reggio and how the amulgavars burned the galleys which King Charles had had made in order to pass into Romania; whereat the Lord King En Pedro was much displeased.

AND, that night, there came a message to King Charles that the Lord King of Aragon was coming with all his forces and all the forces of Sicily, by sea and by land, and that he was not forty leagues away. And King Charles who heard this and who was a very wise lord, as well in feats of arms as in all other matters, thought that, if the King of Aragon was coming, it was certain that he could not come without some of his own host knowing it, and that, as they had betrayed King Manfred, so they might betray him. And, besides this, he feared that Calabria would rebel against him, and therefore he decided to embark that night and go across to Reggio. And at dawn, whilst they were still embarking, the people of Messina saw that they were going; but there were many left yet, and the almugavars fell upon them and all who had remained on land, horse and foot, were killed. And then the almugavars raided the tents and took so much booty that Messina was enriched for ever after and so were the almugavars it is needless to say.

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They handled florins as men handle small change. And again, they also went to the dockyard of San Salvador where there were, on the stocks, more than a hundred and fifty galleys and terides, which King Charles was having made for the passage to Romania, as I have told you before; and they set them all on fire. And the fire was so great that it seemed that all the world was burning; whereat King Charles was very grieved, for he saw it all from Catona, where he was. What shall I tell you? The messengers went to the King of Aragon and Sicily and found him with all his host, thirty miles distant from Messina, and told him all the event, as it had happened. And he was greatly displeased, for he wished above all things to fight with King Charles and for that satisfaction he was coming, he and his followers. But, nevertheless, he thought that all was for the best and that all was the work of God. God knew what was best.

And so he came to Messina. And if a feast had been made for him at Palermo, a much greater still was made at Messina, and it lasted more than fifteen days. Yet, whoever might be engaged in making a feast, the Lord King was thinking of his affairs. And on the third day of his arrival in Messina, twenty-two of his armed galleys came in.

Now I shall turn to speak to you again of King Charles and shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LXVI.

How King Charles had himself set on shore at Catona the bette to collect his people; and how the almugavars killed all who had remained; and why King Charles would not await the battle with the Lord King En Pedro.

When King Charles had raised the siege of Messina, which was at midnight, he had himself set on shore at

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Catona, as it was the nearest land, for from Catona to Messina is not more than six miles. And this he did in order that galleys and barges should make many journeys during the night. However, they did not make so many journeys that, at dawn, many people, horse and foot, were not still left, who all died by the hands of the two thousand almugavars who were in Messina. And, likewise, they were unable to carry away any tents, or wine, or victuals, or anything the host had had. Whilst the almugavars were disposing of the followers of King Charles who had remained on land, the Messinians thought of collecting the booty from the tents. However, the almugavars so hastened to kill all the followers of King Charles that they also had part in the goods from the tents, although they had taken as well so much from those they had killed that it was infinite. For everyone can know or imagine that a man who flees or wants to embark does not leave his gold or silver behind, but rather takes it with him. And so those who killed them took all that and thus had infinite gain.

Nevertheless you can understand what the power of King Charles was, which he had at Messina. He had full a hundred and twenty galleys and countless armed lenys and ferry boats, which ferried six horses each, at once, yet they were unable to carry the people across in the course of the night, though it was the month of September, when the night is as long as the day, and the passage is so short—six miles—as I have told you already. However, as some will hear this who do not know what six miles are, I want them to know, that the distance is so short from San Rayner in Messina to the fort of Catona that, from one side to the other, you might see a man on horseback and would know whether he was going East or West. So you see how near it is and how many people there must have been, that so many vessels could

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not carry them over in one night. Wherefore everyone in the world blames King Charles for not having awaited the battle with the Lord King of Aragon. But those who know say that no lord on earth had ever acted more wisely than did King Charles, for the reasons I have told you already. He feared treachery on the part of his followers; besides he knew the valour of the Lord King En Pedro, who was the most accomplished knight of the world and who was bringing with him more expert knights from his dominion than ever King Arthur had at the Round Table, and of men afoot more than forty thousand from his country, each of whom was worth as much as a knight. And so, considering these things, he did very wisely in taking the safest course; for he knew that, so great was the King of Aragon's power that, in a short time he could take all. What shall I tell you? Assuredly he chose the best way; if he had remained he would have been killed or defeated. God was guarding the Lord King of Aragon and his people, whom He had brought to this place.

CHAPTER LXVII.

How King Charles commanded all his galleys to return to their country and how the Lord King of Aragon sent his after them, vanquished and defeated them and acquired Nicotera.

AND when the Lord King Charles was at Catona and all his followers had landed who could be carried across during the night, he ordained that the count of Alençon, his nephew, and brother of King Philip of France, should remain at Catona with a great number of the chivalry; and he went to the city of Reggio and gave the word to his galleys all to return to their country. And they, with great joy, went on their way to their country.

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And, of the hundred and twenty galleys that were there, thirty were from Apulia, who set their course for Brindisi, and the eighty others went all together towards Naples. And the Lord King saw all this from Messina and called his son, Jaime Pedro, and said to him: "Admiral, I wish you to put in your place in these twenty-two galleys, the noble En Pedro de Queralt and your Vice-Admiral En Cortada, and that they go after that fleet and attack it, for they are people fleeing and have completely lost courage and they are of many nations and are never of one mind. And you may be sure that the noble En Pedro and your Vice-Admiral will defeat them, for they will not act together." And En Jaime Pedro answered: "Lord, may it be your pleasure that I put no one in my place in this matter, but that I go in person; all you say, Lord, is true, that they will all be killed or taken, and so may it please you that I have the honour of it." And the Lord King answered the Admiral: "We do not wish you to go, for you will have to direct all our other vessels." The noble En Jaime Pedro, though greatly displeased, remained and ordained the galleys as the Lord King had commanded.

All embarked at once very joyously and all shouted: "Aur, Aur." And the people of Messina and those of Sicily who were in Messina wondered at what the Lord King was doing in sending twenty-two galleys against ninety and full fifty vessels more, what between barges and armed lenys and ferry boats. And they all went to the Lord King and said: "Lord, what is this you want to do? Do you wish to send twenty-two galleys against a hundred and fifty sails, for that is the number going away?" And the Lord King laughed and said: "Barons, this very day you will see how the might of God works in this matter. And let Us be; We do not wish anyone to oppose Our will. We trust so much in the might of God and in the good right

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We uphold that, if they were twice as many than they are, you would see them all, this very day, killed and routed. And all answered: "Lord, your will be fulfilled." And, at once, the King rode to the sea-shore and had the trumpet sounded and all embarked very joyously.

And when they were embarked, the Lord King of Aragon and the admiral ascended the galleys and the Lord King preached to them and ordained what they were to do. And the noble En Pedro de Queralt and En Cortada said: "Lord, may it please you to let us go; to-day we shall do a deed which will be for the glory of the House of Aragon and yours and the admiral's for all time, and all that are in Sicily will be joyous and pleased thereat." All the crews of the galleys shouted: "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and bless us and command us to go; they are all ours already." And the Lord King raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and Father, be praised for having given Us dominion over so brave a people. May it please Thee to defend them and keep them from evil, and give them victory." And he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them and commended them to God. And, at once, he and the admiral, his son, left the galleys by the ladders they all had facing the Fuente de Oro of Messina.

And as soon as the Lord King was on shore, the galleys began to row, and at the moment they began to row, the fleet of King Charles had not yet passed Coda-di-Volpe; so the twenty-two galleys endeavoured to overtake them and hoisted sails, the wind being on the quarter, and with oar and sail they went towards the fleet of King Charles. And they, seeing them come, steered for Nicotera. And when they were in the Gulf of Nicotera they all assembled and said: "You see there the twenty-two galleys of the Lord King of Aragon which were at Messina. What shall we do?" The Neapolitans,

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who, as well as the Genoese and Pisans, were greatly afraid that the Provençals would forsake them, answered that all should prepare for battle.

And if you ask me how many galleys there were from each place I will tell you. Firstly, there were twenty Provençal galleys, well fitted-out and calked, and besides, fifteen galleys of Genoese, and ten of Pisans and forty-five from Naples and from the coast of the Principality; the barges and armed lenys were all of the Principality of Calabria. What shall I tell you? As soon as the fleet of King Charles was before Nicotera, all began to unship their masts and put themselves in order of battle. And the twenty-two galleys were within a cross-bow shot and they also unshipped their masts and cleared the decks for action and hoisted the standard in the admiral's galley, and all armed themselves and lashed every galley to the next, so that all the twenty-two galleys, thus lashed together and hauling the wind, began to row towards the fleet of King Charles, ready for battle. And they of the fleet did not think at all that they intended to fight, but that they made a show of it; but when they saw they were in earnest, the ten galleys of the Pisans left the line and hoisted their masts and, hauling the wind which was fresh, put out to sea and fled. And when the Pisans had done this, the Genoese did likewise and also the men of Provence, as all these had light and well-armed galleys. And when the forty-five galleys, armed lenys and barges of the Principality saw this, they thought they were dead men and ran for the beach of Nicotera, but the twenty-two went and attacked them. What shall I tell you? They killed so many, the numbers were countless, and they took more than six thousand men alive and captured all the forty-five galleys and armed lenys and barges. And that was not enough; rather, they went and attacked Nicotera and took it, and took

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more than two hundred French horsemen who had gone there from the host; and from Nicotera to Messina is not more than thirty miles. And when they had done this it was vesper-time and they retired for the night.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

How the galleys of the Lord King En Pedro returned with the galleys of King Charles which they had captured and how they of Messina feared it was the fleet of King Charles.

AND when it was passed midnight, with the land breeze which had sprung up in the bay, they set sail and they were so many that they hid the sea from sight; for, do not think that there were only the forty-five galleys and the lenys and the barges which came with them, but they found also at Nicotera, what with trading vessels and terides and barges laden with victuals for King Charles's host, over a hundred and thirty sail; and they brought them all to Messina and had all the goods and arms of Nicotera put on board. So they went so fast with the land breeze that night that, at dawn, they were at Boca del Faro, in front of the small tower of the lighthouse of Messina. And when it was daylight and they had passed the small tower, the people of Messina looked, and seeing so many sails they all cried: "Ah God, Our Father and Lord, what is this? Look, the fleet of King Charles has taken the galleys of the Lord King of Aragon and is coming back upon us."

The Lord King who was up, for he always rose at dawn, winter and summer, heard the noise and said: "What is this? What is this shouting in the city?" "Lord," said they, "they say that the fleet of King Charles is returning with much greater forces than have

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gone from here, and that they have taken our galleys." And the Lord King asked for a horse and mounted at once, and there were not ten men with the Lord King when he issued from the palace. And, on the shore, he went where he saw a great lamenting of men and women and children, and he comforted them and said: "Good people, be not afraid; these are our galleys which bring captive the whole of King Charles's fleet." And as he rode along the shore he told people this. And the people said: "Virtuous Lord, may it please God that it is so." What shall I tell you? All the people followed him, men and women and children of Messina, and all the hosts of Sicily which were in Messina. And when the Lord King came to Fuente de Oro, and saw the marvel of so many sails coming with the wind behind them, he considered within himself and when he had considered he said to himself: "May that Lord Who has brought me here, in His mercy not forsake me and this miserable people."

And whilst he was thinking thus, an armed leny, all dressed with flags with the arms of the Lord King of Aragon, and in which En Cortada was, came to where he saw the Lord King, who was at the Fuente de Oro with banner unfurled and with his chivalry. And you need not ask me if all the people were joyous who were with the Lord King and who saw this leny come with his flags and pendants. And he approached the sea, and En Cortada landed and said: "Lord, see here your galleys which are bringing you all these others captive, and which have taken Nicotera and have burned and destroyed it and have killed full two hundred men, French knights." And the Lord King, who heard this, dismounted and knelt on the ground, and so likewise did all those who were present, and they began to sing the 'Salve Regina'; and they blessed and praised God for this victory and did not attribute it to themselves,

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but solely to God. What shall I tell you? The Lord King replied to En Cortada that he was welcome, and commanded that he should return at once to the galleys and order all to come in front of the custom-house praising God, and that they should make the accustomed salute. And it was done as he commanded, and the twenty-two galleys entered first and they towed, of galleys and lenys and barges, more than fifteen. And so, all beflagged, the standard raised, and trailing the enemies' banners in the sea, they entered Messina. And if any man has ever seen joy and cheerfulness on land and on sea there he might see and hear, for it seemed that heaven and earth were fighting, but the cries were to the praise and glory of God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court. And when they were at the custom-house, which is at the palace of the Lord King, the Te Deum was chanted and all the people on sea and land responded, so that, truly, my belief is that the voices could be heard in Calabria. What shall I tell you? Amidst this feast and rejoicing they landed. And all the Sicilians cried: "Our Lord and Father the true God, we bless Thee, Who hast sent us such people to deliver us from death; and it is evident, Lord, that this people is indeed Thy people. These are not men, rather are they lions, for they are all, amongst other men in the world, what lions are amongst other beasts. Wherefore, Lord, Thou art praised and blessed, Who has given us such a lord with such valiant followers." What shall I tell you? The feast was so great that no man ever saw greater, nor a more joyous.

Now I shall let this be and shall speak of King Charles and of the count of Alençon and of their followers.

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CHAPTER LXIX.

How King Charles burst out laughing when he heard that the galleys of the Lord King En Pedro were chasing his galleys; and of his great grief when he knew of the capture of his galleys.

WHEN King Charles knew that the twenty-two galleys of the King of Aragon were sailing after his fleet, he crossed himself in his astonishment and said: "Ah, God, what a mad people that is who go with their eyes open to be killed. True indeed is the saying of the wise man that all the sense of Spain is in the heads of the horses; for the people have no sense, and the horses are sensible and the best horses in the world."[1] And on the following day, when he saw so many sails enter Boca de Faro, he and the count of Alençon (who was at Catona and who saw them first and sent word to King Charles at Reggio) imagined the fleet was returning with twenty-two galleys they had taken, to present them to King Charles. And that was what King Charles and the count of Alençon imagined; but when they saw them enter Messina and, at night, saw the illuminations made at Messina, they wondered. And when they knew the truth they said: "Ah, God, what is this? What are these people who have fallen upon us? These are not men, but devils from hell. May God, in His mercy, let us escape out of their hands."

And so I must leave them; they are in great grief and great fear; and I shall return to the feast at Messina.

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[1] Praise of the Spanish horses is found in Strabo and Marzial. The former, speaking of the horses of the Celtico-Iberians compares them to those of the Parthians for lightness and swiftness; and Marzial says that the Romans called all their valuable horses Asturians. —Bofarull.

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CHAPTER LXX.

How the almugavars and retainers asked the Lord King En Pedro as a favour to let them go to Catona against the Count of Alençon; and how the Lord King granted them this favour and they killed the said count.

WHAT shall I tell you? The seamen who had been in the galleys had gained so much that they can be made prosperous by it for ever, they and theirs, if they know how to keep it. But, when the almugavars and retainers saw the great gain the seamen had made, they were full of envy and went to the Lord King and said to him: "Lord, you see that the seamen have made much profit and do not mind how much they spend, and people think that we, whom they see badly clothed, are not of any account, and so, Lord, you should give us an opportunity of making profit." And the Lord King said that he was willing to give them every opportunity he could of acquiring booty, and would do so willingly. "Then, Lord," said they, "now is the opportunity for you to make us rich, and we will earn for you the greatest honour and the greatest profit vassals have ever earned for their Lord." "Then," said the Lord King, "say, what is that?" "Lord," said they, "it is the truth that the count of Alençon, brother of the King of France and nephew of King Charles, is at Catona with a great force of chivalry. And if it pleases you, Lord, have the trumpets sounded and the galleys manned at once. And, Lord, the men will embark at once, for the seamen are always glad not to be idle. And as soon as they have embarked, we will ascend into the galleys and after we have retired for the night, say at midnight or after, the galleys shall take us over to the west of Catona, in such manner that they can make two journeys before dawn.

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And when we are there in the morning, at dawn, if God pleases, we will attack the host, and will act so that God and you and all our well-wishers will have great joy and it will make us rich and prosperous for ever. However, Lord, we entreat of your mercy that the expedition be royal, that we have to give neither fifth nor anything else. It should please you well, Lord, that we trust in God that to-morrow will be the day on which we shall act so as to avenge King Manfred and his brothers, whereat you and all yours will be well satisfied and joyous for ever. For you see clearly, Lord, that if we kill the count of Alençon, and so many important men from France and elsewhere who are with him, we shall have taken a good revenge." And the Lord King answered them joyously: "We are well content with all you have planned to do. And comport yourselves well and valiantly, and act in such manner that We have cause to be grateful to you for ever. Assuredly, if you will wait prudently when the galleys have landed you, until the second boat-full has come over, and then attack the enemy at dawn, all you have planned can come to pass and be accomplished." "Lord," said they, "make the sign of the Cross over us, bless us, and let us go. And have the trumpets sounded, and tell the admiral the whole plan, and tell him to have two armed lenys cruising in these waters so that the enemy gets no information." And then the Lord King said: "Be blessed by the hand of God and by Ours, good luck be with you, and go in the keeping of God and of His Blessed Mother, and may He defend you from all evil and give you victory." And upon this they kissed his feet and departed.

And the Lord King summoned the admiral and commanded him to man the galleys and told him the whole plan. And the admiral did at once what the Lord King had commanded him to do. What more shall I tell you about it? As it was ordained by the Lord

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King, so it was accomplished. The galleys had made two journeys by the hour of matins, laden with almugavars or with retainers, and again returned for a third journey, so many people were there in San Rayner de Messina to take over to Catona. And they went on board the galleys as if they were going to a dance with their betrothed and were bound to be very joyous. And, as there was no room for them in the galleys, so many went on board the barges that they were nearly drowned. Indeed, more than three boat-loads were lost, for so many went on board that they capsized. And when the galleys and many barges had made the two journeys it was nearly dawn and all went noiselessly to Catona, and appointed renowned chiefs for each company who, with their companies, were to have no other care but to go straight to the principal house of Catona, where the count of Alençon was lodged. And the others were to attack in the town, and some the tents and barges around, for all the Frenchmen had not been able to lodge in the town. And, as it was ordained, so it was done and accomplished.

What shall I tell you? When it was daylight, everyone was in his teride and the trumpets of the almugavars and of the chiefs of the retainers sounded and, together, they attacked. And ask me not how nor in what fashion; never did people attack more vigorously than they did. And they of the count's host rose, not knowing what had happened, and the almugavars and the retainers attacked them, so that not even one could escape. And those who had been ordained to go to the lodging of the count of Alençon went there and attacked vigorously. And, certainly, they had hard work, for they found there full three hundred knights in armour on foot, who were the count's guard. But of what use was it to them? They were cut down at once, and the count was found putting on his armour with about ten knights, who were at the

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door of the chamber and let no one enter. What shall I tell you? The almugavars rushed up to the chamber, seeking the count. But the knights cried: "Hold, hold; the count of Alençon is here. Take him alive, he will give you more than fifteen thousand silver marks." But they cried: "No prisoners! He must die in revenge for the deaths caused by King Charles." What shall I tell you? The ten knights all died at the door of the chamber, like good and valiant men, and the count of Alençon was cut to pieces in the chamber. And whilst the fight was at its height, the galleys returned after yet another journey, with many barges. And you might see men land and slaughter the French, because they were with the brother of the King of France. What shall I tell you? Before the hour of tierce[1] they had killed and cut them all down. And the cry of alarm reached Reggio, and King Charles, who heard it, thought the King of Aragon had crossed over and he made all his people arm and he remained in the city of Reggio, ready to defend himself and the city, for he knew not what the truth was, for none dared go outside the city. And, meanwhile, the almugavars and retainers embarked in the barges and galleys, of which so many had come from Messina that, in one journey, they brought them all away, with so much treasure in gold and silver, as well dishes as belts, swords and florins and various gold and silver coins, and merchandise, and horses and mules and palfreys and harness and tents and clothes and bed-clothes that it would be endless to count it. What shall I tell you? It could never be said in any raid that so much gold and so much silver and so many movables were taken. What more shall I go on telling you about this event? The meanest man present made gain without measure and without end. And it seemed, at Messina,

[1] 9 a.m.

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that more florins were spent than formerly pitjols;[1] because Messina then became so rich that the inhabitants have never had any poor amongst them since.

Now I shall cease to speak of this, of which the Lord King had great joy; and so he should for many reasons and, amongst others, there is this: that the Sicilians esteemed each of his followers as worth more than six knights of other nations. It put them in such good heart that, if only ten Catalans were with fifty Sicilians the latter were not afraid they might be destroyed by two hundred men of other nations.

Now I shall leave off speaking of the Lord King and of his followers and will turn again to speak of King Charles.

CHAPTER LXXI.

How King Charles heard of the death of the count of Alençon and of the great grief he felt at his death; and how he resolved to prepare to take vengeance upon the Lord King En Pedro.

AND when King Charles knew that the count of Alençon and all the chiefs that were with him and the knights and other followers were all dead, he was so full of grief that no man could describe it; and especially when he knew that foot soldiers had done this deed. And he considered within himself what he could do, and he commanded all his followers to be ready; for, assuredly, he would avenge this death if the King of Aragon crossed over. And so he showed himself comforted before his people, yet other thoughts were in his heart. But it can

[1] Bofarull suggests that 'j' is here used by Muntaner as equivalent or most like in sound, to the Italian 'c.' Antonini defines the 'Picciola' in his dictionary: "A coin in use in Florence, of which four went to the quattrino, called by some by its Latin name 'minuta.' 'And I leave him two hundred lire di piccioli in cash.' Here 'lire piccioli' means silver lire, as distinguished from gold lire."

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be said of him that he was the wisest prince of the world in deeds of arms. And that he should be for many reasons. The first was that he was of the highest birth of the world. Besides, he had spent all his life in feats of arms, for he had been with his brother, King Louis of France, in the expedition to Damietta and in the expedition to Tunis and, afterwards, in the battles which he had fought and won in many wars in Tuscany and Lombardy and in many parts. And let no one imagine that a lord need only be accomplished in feats of arms; rather, he needs sense and capacity and wisdom, and he should know how to choose to the best advantage in war. For you know the Gospel says that man lives not by bread alone, wherefore no lord can be considered accomplished only because he is expert in feats of arms, rather he must have many other qualities. Therefore it can be said of King Charles that he was accomplished in arms, but not only in arms but in all things and he showed this to all the world by the decision he took in this narrow pass in which he saw himself. What he did and planned should add more to his reputation for valour and capacity than if he had won another battle like that against King Manfred and King Conradin. And if you say to me, why? I can easily answer: when he fought those battles he was very prosperous, but now he was in great peril and in very narrow straits for many reasons. Firstly, he had lost the sea; then he had lost the count of Alençon with the greater part of his barons and knights whom he could trust. Besides, he was in expectation that all the Principality and Calabria, and Apulia and the Abruzzi would rebel, because of the bad government of his officials. Thus he considered well all this and many other perils in which he saw himself, such as that he had opposed to him the most valiant prince of the world, lord of the best people, most ready to die of any on earth, and most loyal to their lord, for all would

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sooner let themselves be cut to pieces rather than that any dishonour should come to him. Therefore it was most necessary for him, at this juncture, to have understanding, strenuousness, and capacity. What shall I tell you? In the night, when others were sleeping, he was watching, and thought out the wisest plan that any king or other man could ever imagine for the restoration of his country and himself.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Recounts the decision King Charles took when in such straits; and how he sent to accuse the Lord King En Pedro, by which a combat between the two kings was arranged; and how kings and richs homens should always have old and experienced men for their undertakings.

AND he thought and spoke thus: "The King of Aragon is the wisest prince and the bravest born since Alexander and, if thou accusest him of having broken faith in coming into thy territory without defying thee, he will have to justify himself. And thou wilt persist in sending him messages of accusation, and he will have to clear himself by combat, either single combat, or ten against ten, or a hundred against a hundred. And when he shall have assented to this he will not turn back for anything, and so thou wilt accept the combat for a hundred against a hundred, and wilt put it under the arbitrament of the King of England; and we will both agree to be at Bordeaux by a fixed day, within a short time. And when the combat is agreed upon and the people know of it, even if they have risen, they will stop and say: 'Against whom have we rebelled? The King of Aragon has to go to the combat and, if he is vanquished, we may reckon ourselves dead men, considering the power

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of King Charles.' And thus they will all keep quiet, and no one will move until the combat is over; and it will be well for us if they reason thus and no one moves now."

And having made this plan, which was the wisest and best that any lord had ever imagined in such straits, he appointed very honourable messengers and sent them to
Dec. 1282. the King of Aragon in Messina, and commanded that they should speak to him before a full court, as well of his followers as of Sicilians and others, and say that they would not speak except in the presence of all; and when a full court was assembled, they should accuse him. And so the said messengers came to Messina and at once did what their lord had commanded them. And, when the full court was assembled, they said: "King of Aragon, King Charles sends us to you, and says to you, through us, that your honour is tarnished by your entering his territory without defying him." And the Lord King of Aragon, moved by anger and indignation, answered and said: "Tell your Lord that We will appoint messengers who will be with him to-day, who will answer him to his face for Us, as you have accused Us to Our face; and so prepare to go." And the messengers, without taking leave of the Lord King, went away and embarked in an armed leny in which they had come, and returned to King Charles, and told him the answer the Lord King of Aragon had made. And six hours of the same day had not gone by when the Lord King of Aragon sent two knights in another armed leny, who appeared before King Charles. And so, without greeting him, they said to him: "King Charles, our Lord, the King of Aragon, sends to ask you if you commanded the messengers you sent him to-day to say such words as they have said." And King Charles answered: "Most assuredly; I wish you to know, the King of Aragon and you and all the world, from Our own mouth, that We commanded them to say those words, and so We repeat them again, before

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you, with Our own mouth." Then the knights arose and one of them spoke and said: "King, we answer you on the part of our Lord, the King of Aragon, that you lie in your throat; that, by nothing he has done has his honour been tarnished, and that he says that yours was tarnished when you attacked King Manfred, and again, when you killed King Conradin; and, if you deny this, that he will make you acknowledge it in single combat. And though he says nothing against your knighthood, for he knows that you are an accomplished knight, yet he will give you the advantage of weapons, in consideration of your greater age. But if you will not accept this, he will fight you ten against ten, fifty against fifty, or a hundred against a hundred. And this we are prepared to sign." And King Charles, when he heard this, was very pleased in his mind, for he knew that his purpose was realised, and he said: "Barons, those messengers of Ours, who were in Messina to-day, will go with you, to learn from the King if he says what you say; and if he does, let him give his gage before Our messengers and swear upon the four Holy Gospels, and as King, that he will not retreat from what he says. And if he does this, you, together with Our messengers, return to Us and We, likewise, will give you Our gage and We will take the same oath. And then I shall make my decision within a day and will accept one of those three proposals he has made me and whichever I accept I am prepared to uphold; and then we shall decide, I and he, under whose arbitrament we shall leave the combat; and within another day we will decide this. And when we have decided under whose arbitrament we shall fight, we will take the shortest and quickest time we can to be ready for the combat at the place agreed." "With all this we are content," said the messengers.

And they passed over together to Messina at once, and came before the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon.

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And the messengers of King Charles said what he had commanded them to say. And when they had finished their argument, the Lord King of Aragon answered and said: "Tell King Charles all that Our messengers have said to him We say, and in order that he and you should believe it We will repeat it." And he said to them no more and no less than his messengers had said. And then the messengers of King Charles answered: "Then, King, as you have answered thus, give your gage in the presence of all." And then the Lord King took a pair of gloves a knight was holding, and threw them down in the presence of all. And the messengers of King Charles took the gages and at once said: "Then, King, swear upon God's Holy Gospels, and as a King, that you will not go back upon this; and if you do, you will be a false and perjured man, in place of being vanquished." And the Lord King sent for the Gospels and swore as they requested him. And again the Lord King said: "If you consider that any more should be done in affirmation, I am prepared to do it." And the messengers said: "It seems to us that all is complete." And they returned at once to Reggio with the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon to King Charles and told him all that had been done and what the Lord King of Aragon had said. And, at once, King Charles did all that the King of Aragon had done in regard to the gages, as well as in regard to the oaths. And the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon brought away the gages, and when this was done and signed it could on no account be gone back upon. Wherefore King Charles was joyous, and so he should be for he had, at once, taken the heart out of those who wanted to rebel against him, so that all his plan was being carried out. And for this reason it is said, and such is the truth, that the Lord King of Aragon was never tricked in any war, except in this one. And this happened to him for two reasons. The first is

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that he had to do with a king old and very wise in all matters, for I would have you know that long practice is worth much in all affairs of this world. And King Charles had long continued in wars and was old and mature in all his concerns. And the Lord King of Aragon, assuredly, was as well endowed with all capacity and aptitude as he was; but the truth is that he was young, and his blood was hot and it had not cooled like King Charles's. Wherefore he did not think of the present. And believe me, every wise prince and any other person, of whatever condition, should fix his mind on the past and the present and the future. And if he does that and has recourse every time to God and prays to Him to be on his side, his plan will not fail. But the Lord King of Aragon did not consider more than two seasons, that is, the past and the future, and he left out the present. If he had fixed his mind on the present, he would have taken good care not to undertake these combats; for he would have seen well that the present time was such, that King Charles would lose all his territory; and, again, that he was in such a situation that, assuredly, it would come to pass that he would have to put himself into the power of the King of Aragon, without a blow and without any cost, for all the country was about to rise in rebellion.

Therefore, lords, who will hear this book, resolve to have in your counsel richs homens and knights and citizens and every other manner of men and, amongst the others, old men who have seen and heard and long practiced what they have long been accustomed to do; and, assuredly, they will choose of two good things the best, and of two evils the least. I shall say no more on this matter, for all the lords of the world are of such high birth and are so accomplished that, if they were not badly advised, they would never do anything displeasing to God. And even when they consent to have

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such things done, it is not that they wish to do them, but that men tell them and make them believe things are what they consider right, when they are the opposite. Wherefore they are justified before God, but the wretches who thus delude them and give them to understand one thing for another, they have the burden of it and will suffer punishment for it in the next world.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Recounts how the combat of the two kings was agreed for a hundred men against a hundred at Bordeaux before King Edward of England; and how the fame of the said combat spread throughout the world; and King Charles in this interval asked for a truce which the Lord King En Pedro would not grant him.

And when all this was settled, both the Kings could hardly await the day of the combat, and King Charles sent to the King of Aragon, to say that he thought and had remembered that, as they both were of the highest birth in the world, it would not be suitable that they should fight with the smaller number, but with a hundred a side and that it could then be said that, when they entered those lists, each with a hundred knights, there would be present amongst them the two most accomplished knights of the world. And this was settled on both sides. And after that King Charles sent to say that he thought that King Edward of England[1] would be, for both of them, the most acceptable king of the world, as he was one of the most upright Kings of the world and a good Christian; and that the city of Bordeaux, near the territories of both of them, was his, and that they should fight under his arbitrament in the said city of

[1] Edward I.

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Bordeaux; and that on a fixed day, under penalty for treason, they should each, in person, be at Bordeaux and, on the day fixed, under penalty for treason, the lists should be ready. And this seemed to him the most convenient place of any belonging to a prince, or of any place he could think of. However, if the King of Aragon knew of a better, or more secure for both sides, and which could be got ready in a shorter time, let him say so; but if this seemed well to him, that he should agree to it, in virtue of the oath he had sworn already through his messengers; and, if he pleased, he would do the same through his messengers. And upon this the messengers came to the Lord King of Aragon and told him all King Charles had commanded they should say.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had heard all they had said, as you have heard already, he thought it was well; and it seemed to him that King Charles had chosen rightly, as well in respect of the numbers as in respect of the King of England and of the city of Bordeaux. And he did not wish to object to anything, rather he agreed to everything, as has been said before; except that he added to the oath, and required King Charles to do the same, that, under the penalties agreed between them, neither of them should bring more knights or a greater force than the hundred knights who were to enter the lists. And King Charles was pleased with this, and so they both swore and signed and thus were the combats of the two Kings settled, and the numbers, and under whose arbitrament and the place where the combats should be fought and the time at which the Kings should be there.

Now I shall let this be and shall speak of the fame which spread through all the country concerning these combats and, thence, through all the world: Everyone was awaiting the interview, to see how it would end, and everyone kept to himself and would not take part

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against either of the kings. And so King Charles sent to tell King En Pedro of Aragon that, if he consented, he would be pleased there should be a truce between them until the combats had taken place. But the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon sent to tell him that, as long as he was alive, he would have neither peace nor truce with him, rather he would have him know that he would do him, and cause to be done him, all the evil he could; that he was well assured that King Charles would do the same by him. Rather he would have him know that he would shortly fight him in Calabria; and that, if he wished, there would be no need to go and fight at Bordeaux. And when King Charles heard this answer he thought it would not be well to tarry where he was, for three reasons. Firstly, that he had lost the sea, so that he would get no victuals; the other was that he knew the Lord King En Pedro wished to cross over to where he was, according to what he had heard; the other, that he would go and attend to his affairs, so as to be at Bordeaux on the day fixed. And therefore he left Reggio and went to Naples, and from Naples to Rome to the Pope; and he left his son, the prince, in his place.

Now I shall let him be whilst he is with the Pope and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon released full twelve thousand Christians whom he had taken from King Charles, and had a gown made for each one and gave each one rations for his return to his country.

WHEN the Lord King of Aragon had settled the combats, he sent for the Admiral and commanded him

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to give barques to all the Christians they had taken prisoners from King Charles; for every fifty prisoners one of those large cross-rigged barques which the galleys had brought from Nicotera. And he also ordered his majordomo to have for each prisoner a gown and a shirt and breeches made, and a Catalan cap and belt, and to give to each prisoner a Catalan knife and a gold florin for rations, and that they should be taken out of prison at once and prepare to go each to his country. And as soon as these orders were given, the admiral mounted his horse at once, and went to chose, for the honour of God, the best amongst the barques, and into each he put bread and water and cheese and onions and garlic for fifty people for fifteen days. And when it was all ordained, those people went to the meadow outside Saint John's gate, and there certainly were more than twelve thousand persons. And the Lord King rode and went to them and had them dressed as has been said before, and spoke, and said to them thus: "Barons, it is the truth that you have no guilt in the evil King Charles has done, nor are you guilty in coming with him. And so, in the name of God, We absolve you. Arrange to go everyone to his land; but I beg and advise you that, if you are not forced to it, you do not again fight against Us." And all shouted: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life, and to us may He give the favour of seeing thee Emperor." And they all knelt down and sang the Salve Regina. And when they had done this, the admiral made them all embark, according to what the Lord King had commanded. And so they went, each to his country, and may God give us as much joy as each of them had and as their friends had when they saw them. The fame of this went through all the world and caused the prayers of all, friends and enemies, to go up to God for the Lord King of Aragon.

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CHAPTER LXXV.

How the Lord King En Pedro passed into Calabria to fight King Charles; and how he landed at Catona where he had news that King Charles had departed; and how, Reggio and many other castles and cities captured, he settled all Sicily and Calabria; and how the Infante En Jaime Pedro, his son, was nominated one of the hundred for the combat.

AND when the Lord King had done this, he immediately issued a proclamation, that everyone should prepare to embark, horse as well as foot, with bread for a month; that all should know that he wished to pass into Calabria on Monday to fight King Charles (it was Thursday when the proclamation was made) and that, if it pleased God that King Charles would give him battle, he need not go to Bordeaux, whereat he would be very glad. And when people heard the proclamation every man prepared joyously to get ready. And when King Charles heard this news it seemed to him no jesting matter; rather he at once decided to depart for this reason and because he had lost the sea, as I have told you before, and could not provide himself with victuals. He did not wish to await the Lord King of Aragon who, with all his followers, passed into Calabria and landed at Catona and thought to find King Charles there. But they told him that he had gone away. And the Lord King was much displeased at this and said: "As we are here, let us not have come in vain." And they went to the city of Reggio and besieged it, and they had not been there two days, during which they had pressed the garrison hard, when it surrendered to mercy and gave over to him all the Frenchmen who were there. And the Lord King sent them away as he had done the others. And after he had taken the city of Reggio, he took also Calanna and la Mota, the castle of Sanct

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Onoxent,[1] that of Sanct Agata and that of Pentedatilla, and Amandolea, and Birats. What shall I tell you? They took every place they rode to. And the light horsemen and the almugavars made raids, penetrating a three or four days' march inland, and fought with knights King Charles had left in the villages. But what shall I tell you of them? If the men of the Lord King of Aragon were a hundred on horseback and five hundred afoot, and encountered five hundred men on horseback of the others and three or four thousand men afoot they would kill or take them all. They had so discouraged them that, as soon as they heard the cry: "Aragon," they thought themselves dead men and surrendered. And he who wished to tell all the fine feats of arms the followers of the Lord King of Aragon performed every day in Calabria would not find time to write them all. And if you ever saw a joyous lord, the King of Aragon was that. He remained fifteen days in Calabria and within these fifteen days took all the coast from Turpia to Quirayt and was full of enjoyment. But, when he remembered the date of his having to go to the combat, he had to change his design. And when he had been fifteen days in Calabria with upraised banner, he went through all that country and left his vicar-general in Calabria and garrisoned all the castles and places he had taken with his followers; and, besides, left there all his men of arms as well the almugavars, as the retainers. And he left there five hundred horsemen, all Catalans and Aragonese, and returned to Messina with the rest of the chivalry. And when he was in Messina he settled all Sicily and put a military chief[2] in every place, and

[1] Moisé, the Italian translator of the Chronicle, calls Sanct Onoxent San Lucido. It is impossible to identify some of the places mentioned by Muntaner; many of them, and especially the castles, have long since disappeared.

[2] 'Estreticho,' military chief. In various documents of this period relating to Sicily when the king addresses the royal officials, he always names the *stratigoto* after the justiciariis.—Bofarull.

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in Messina and in other places, captains and magistrates and judges. And micer Aleyneps became commander of the valley of Mazzara. And to each of the other richs homens and knights of Sicily he gave and allotted offices, together with the Catalans and Aragonese; thus, he put into each office a Catalan or an Aragonese and a Latin; this he did in order that they should become well known to one another. And when he had thus settled all the island and Calabria he wished to ordain all relating to the sea, and he called the noble En Jaime Pedro, his son, and said: "En Jaime Pedro, you know that We are to fight King Charles on a fixed day and the time We have left is short. And We have much trust in you and in your knightly expertness, and wish that you go with Us and be one of those who will enter the lists with Us. Wherefore We wish you to resign the office of admiral, for it does not seem to Us that henceforth it will be to Our honour and yours that you should be Our admiral. He who is admiral has to do with every kind of people, therefore it would not be suitable, and should not be, that you, who are Our son whom We love much, should have to continue with such people." And the noble En Jaime Pedro answered and said: "Lord and Father, I give you many thanks, for doing me the great honour that it is your pleasure that I should be one of those who will enter the lists with you. And I value it more, Lord, than if you had given me the best country in your territories. Wherefore, Lord, take my office of admiral and my person and what I possess, as it pleases you; never at any time have I been so joyful as I am at this favour you have done me." And so he laid down the admiral's baton and put it in the hands of the Lord King.

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CHAPTER LXXVI.

How the Lord King of Aragon appointed the noble En Roger de Luria admiral and prepared to go to Bordeaux to the combat; and how he took leave of all and passed into Catalonia with four Catalan galleys.

AND then the Lord King called the noble En Roger de Luria, whom he had brought up, and made him kneel before him and said to him: "En Roger, Doña Bella, your mother, has served the Queen, Our wife, well and you have been brought up hitherto by Us and have served Us well; and so We give you, by the grace of God, the admiral's baton, so that henceforth you are Our admiral for all Catalonia and for the Kingdom of Valencia and for Sicily and for all the territories We possess and all God will grant us to conquer." And the noble En Roger threw himself on the ground and kissed the feet of the Lord King of Aragon and then his hands and took the baton with such good fortune that may it please God that all the officials to whom the Lord King will entrust his offices in future will administer them as well as did the said noble. For it may well be said that there was never a vassal in any office who brought his lord greater honour than he did; and this continued from the day he took the baton until he passed from this life.

And when the said noble, En Roger de Luria, had taken the admiral's baton you might see rejoicings and sports and dances in Messina and a great feast made which would be marvellous to relate. And when all this was over, the Lord King assembled a General Council in the church of Sancta Maria la Nova of Messina and exhorted all well and nobly, and censured and admonished them, as well Catalans as Aragonese and Latins, and entreated them all to love and honour each other and

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to have no differences, but to love each other like brothers. And when he had said all this and spoken many other good words he said to them: "You all know that We have a short time left before We go to the combat We have undertaken with King Charles, for which We would not fail to be in the lists on the day agreed, were it to be lord of all the world. Wherefore We say to you: be of good cheer and endeavour to do well. We leave you so many expert men that these alone, whom we leave with you, could fight King Charles. And so, with the help of God, you will remain in perfect security. And We promise you that, as soon as We are in Catalonia We shall send you the Queen and two of Our sons; so that you should understand that this kingdom and you are as dear to Us as Catalonia and Aragon. And you may be sure that, as long as the world lasts, We and Ours will not fail you, rather shall hold you in the same regard as Our natural vassals. And again, We promise you that, if We escape alive from the combat, We shall return here at once, unless other business, which we cannot neglect, arises. And even if other business should prevent Us, Our face shall ever be turned towards you." And with this, he made the sign of the Cross and blessed all the people and took leave of all. And there you might see weeping and lamenting, and they cried: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life and victory, and grant us the favour always to hear good news of thee."

And so the Lord King descended from the platform from which he had spoken. And there you might see the throng there was to kiss his feet and hands, for everybody must needs kiss either his feet or his hands. And so they accompanied him on foot to the palace, and he could not ride, neither did he wish to, because of the ladies and damsels who issued out into the streets to kiss the ground in front of him, when they could

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not kiss his feet or his hands. What shall I tell you? It was morning when he began to speak and it was vespers and dark before he got to the palace; neither he nor any man there had any mind to eat or drink; they could not get their fill of looking at him. And when he was in the palace, the trumpets and nakers sounded, and everybody who wished to dine there, dined; for at no time whilst the Lord King of Aragon was in Sicily did he forbid his door or table to anyone who wished to eat there. And the Lord King and all sat down to eat and they were splendidly provided.

And when the next day came the Lord King sent for the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, fit out at once twenty-five galleys, and man them so that each has a Catalan boatswain and one Latin and four Catalan steersmen and four Latin; and the same for the sailors in the fore-part of the ship, and the rowers shall all be Latins, and the cross-bowmen all Catalans. And We wish that, henceforth, all the fleets you fit out shall be thus ordained and that you, on no account, alter this. And so let the standard be raised by the table[1] at once and arrange to pay these twenty-five galleys and two lenys for four months, for we wish to pass to Catalonia in them." And this he said before all. And the admiral did at once what the Lord King had commanded.

And, at night, the Lord King sent for the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, keep what I am going to tell you secret; I enjoin this upon you as you value Our love. From amongst those galleys, you shall man four entirely with Catalans of good birth, and let not one Latin be in them nor any man of another language, and you shall pretend to send them to Tunis; but they shall go to Trapani, and We shall be at Trapani this day

[1] Volunteers who were not vassals were enrolled at a table surmounted by the Royal Standard. The officer entered their names in a book. These volunteers were sometimes called soldiers of the table.

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fortnight" (and he reckoned up to him the daily march he intended to make) "and so We shall find the four galleys there and shall go on board and depart, in the keeping of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary. And let this be so secret that no man knows anything of it. And you shall remain with the other galleys to guard the island and Our followers who are in Calabria." And the admiral said to him: "Lord, for God's mercy how is this, that you want to pass over to Catalonia with so few galleys?" Said the Lord King En Pedro: "Say nothing more; it shall be done thus." "Then, Lord, for the love of God, let me go with you in those four galleys." Said the Lord King: "You shall not do so, and do not contradict Us in Our decision." "Lord," said the admiral, "let it be done as you command." What shall I tell you? It was done as the Lord King had commanded.

And when all this was ordained, the Lord King took leave and, from Messina, went to visit all the territory of Sicily, and he came to Palermo where the greatest feast was made that had ever been made for any lord. And there also he assembled a General Parliament, as he had done at Messina, and there also he preached to them on the same subject, and there likewise might you see lamentations and weeping and crying, and they followed him from the cathedral, where the parliament was, to the palace. And there also ladies and damsels issued out into the squares, kissing the ground in front of him and calling blessings and all happiness down upon him. And when this was done the Lord King departed from Palermo and went to Trapani. And if you ask me what people followed him, it would be endless to tell; for, as soon as he was out of Messina, so many people from every place went with him, their number was infinite. And in every place they gave him banquets and entertained him and those who were with him,

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of whatever condition they were. What shall I tell you? When he was at Trapani he likewise held another parliament and there were more people there than had been in any of the others. And, being in the parliament, he preached to them and said what he had said in the other parliaments. And this one ended also as the others had, in the other places. And that same day, whilst the Lord King was on the platform preaching, the four galleys and an armed leny which the admiral had added, came to Trapani; and the commanders of the galleys were En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, in whom the Lord King had great confidence. And as soon as the galleys had arrived, the notables of Trapani gave them great refreshment. And on that day the Lord King embarked on his good enterprise amidst great weeping there was at Trapani, and made only those go on board who, he had ordained, should go, and no more; and these were only a few in order that the galleys should sail light. And so the Lord King, with the grace of God, had embarked and put out to sea. God in His mercy carry him to safety.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King, for I shall know how to return to him, and he is sailing on his good adventure, and the island of Sicily remained well ordered by sea and by land and all he possessed in Calabria well ordered and garrisoned; and I shall speak of King Charles.

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CHAPTER LXXVII.

How King Charles went to the Pope and asked him before all his College to help him against the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon with an interdict and with the treasure of the Church and with a Crusade.

WHEN King Charles came to the Pope he begged him to assemble all his Consistory, for he wished to speak with him and with all his cardinals. And as he requested so it was done. And this the King did because he had in the same way, in their presence, received leave for the conquest, and all had promised him succour and aid. And when the Pope and his College were assembled King Charles spoke thus: "Holy Father, you and all your Consistory know that I undertook the conquest of the territory of King Manfred for the honour of Holy Church, as I told you then. And you, at that time, and all your College, promised to help me and to support me against all who would prevent the said conquest; and, again, that you would provide me with money and with all I should require. And you, Holy Father, and all these other lords who are here, know that I have well accomplished all I promised you and have not considered any peril nor damage to my person, neither to kinsman nor vassal of mine. Now it is the truth that the King of Aragon, owing to your great fault, has come against Us and has taken the island of Sicily and a great part of Calabria and will go on taking territory from Us every day, if God and you do not remedy it. And assuredly, Holy Father, you and these other lords, for four reasons especially, should give Us remedy in this. The first reason is that you have a covenant with Us about it. The second reason is that the King of Aragon has done what he has done through your great fault, because of the cruel answer you gave the noble En G. de Castellnou.

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For the King, failing the assistance you refused him, had to seek remedy in his affairs, a thing he would not have done if you had helped him in what he asked, which was in a most just and good cause. And I shall say, not only you, but all the kings in Christendom should have helped him, for never was there a king who attempted such a lofty enterprise and maintained himself in it longer than the five greatest Christian kings of the world could have done. And so, through your great fault, he had to go away, and he came to Sicily, where the Sicilians, very humbly, begged him to become their lord. And you know he had a claim to it, for his wife and sons, and could not fail them. But if you had granted the aid he asked of you We are certain he would not have abandoned what he had begun so well. And so, Holy Father, you are the occasion of Our ill, which is very great ; for, even if we had lost the count of Alençon, Our nephew, alone, that would be so great a loss, it would be incalculable ; but, besides him, We have lost many good relatives and vassals of Our nephew, the King of France, and it is true that We can never avenge them. And the third reason is that you may be certain that the King of Aragon will do so much that he will come as far as Rome, if you do not immediately hasten to issue an interdict against him and all those who aid him, absolving from all punishment and guilt all those who are against him and who shall help Us, and condemning him and all who shall support him to lose all they have. And when you shall have given this sentence, assuredly, the King of Castile and the King of Mallorca and the King of England and the other lords of the Christian world who have the intention to uphold the King of Aragon will refrain and take no part ; rather, peradventure, there may be some who will wish to obtain the indulgence. But if they do not wish to obtain it, nor to support Us, at least they will not injure Us in anything. The fourth

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reason is that, with the treasure of Saint Peter, you would provide for the whole of this war and for Us and also for the King of France, who is a great countenancer of Holy Church; admonishing him that, simultaneously with the crusade you will proclaim against the King of Aragon, he should arrange to invade his country. And so, if you do these four things, We shall completely overcome the King of Aragon. Thus We shall take from him all his territory and, besides, prevent him from assisting Sicily.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

How the Holy Father, Pope Martin, granted to King Charles all the said King had asked of him; and how he pronounced a sentence of interdict against the Lord King En Pedro and his supporters and absolved from punishment and guilt all those who opposed the said Lord King En Pedro.

AND the Pope[1] replied: "Godson of Holy Church, all you have said We have heard well, and We answer the four reasons you have put before Us, for which We are bound to help you. And to the first We reply that it is the truth that We are under covenant with you to assist you in everything We can against all who oppose you, and this We shall do willingly. The other reason, that you say it is Our fault that the King of Aragon went to Sicily, We grant you. When, on that occasion, We said no to him, We acknowledge that Our wish guided Us more than Our reason; wherefore We acknowledge the fault and that We are bound to help you in every manner. The third reason, as to the crusade and the interdict, We promise you that it shall be issued and

[1] Martin IV, Simon de Brion, born at Mont Epiloir, near Bavany in Champagne, was elected Pope on the 22nd February, 1281, at Viterbo.

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proclaimed at once, before you depart from Us. The fourth, of the treasure you ask of Us, and that We should admonish the King of France as a great countenancer of Holy Church, We shall comply with willingly and are ready to provide you and the King of France with money. And so be of good cheer and be comforted, for, all you ask, Holy Church will do in full measure."

And upon this the cardinals spoke and each confirmed what the Holy Father had said. And thus King Charles was much comforted and content and gave them many thanks for their good answer and begged them to hasten everything on, as he had to go to his nephew, the King of France, to ask him for succour and aid and beg him to go with him to Bordeaux. And so the Pope hastened in such manner that, within a few days, he proclaimed the sentence and the crusade against the King of Aragon and his country and all those who gave him aid, and he absolved from punishment and guilt all those who opposed him. This sentence was given by Pope Martin, who was a Frenchman. And it is said that no sentence has ever issued from the court of Rome that is not just; and so we must all believe, for it is said by the priests who are administrators of Holy Church that, *Sententia pastoris justa vel injusta timenda*[1] *est*. And so all faithful Christians must believe, and so do I believe. Therefore this help was very great, the greatest Holy Church can give any lord and which should be most feared by every faithful Christian. And then the Pope helped King Charles with the treasure of Saint Peter, as much as he needed for himself and for the King of France.

And so King Charles took leave of the Holy Father and of the cardinals and went to France.

[1] The Stuttgart edition has "tenenda."

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CHAPTER LXXIX.

How King Charles asked the King of France and the Twelve Peers for help and advice in his affairs, to which the said King of France demurred by reason of the oath sworn between him and the Lord King En Pedro, but was absolved by the legate of Pope Martin from every promise and oath he had made.

And when the King of France and he met there was great mourning for the death of the count of Alençon and this mourning of theirs and of the people lasted two days. And on the following day King Charles came to speak with the King of France, his nephew, and with all the Twelve Peers of France. And when they were assembled in council, King Charles rose and bewailed the great dishonour and the great damage the King of Aragon had done him and begged the King of France and the Twelve Peers for help and advice. And the help he asked was, that he begged them not to desert him in such dire necessity as he was in, knowing as they did that he was the son of a King of France and was of the same flesh and blood as they were, and that the House of France never forsakes one issued from that House; and that thus the Lord King, his nephew, and they all were bound to him. And the advice he asked was for this great difficulty he was in, in the combat he had undertaken, and the day being so near on which he was to be at Bordeaux;[1] and he begged they would give him their counsel. And so for these two reasons he begged them to enable him to reckon upon them. And upon this he ceased to speak.

And the King of France rose and said: "Uncle, We had heard all what has happened to you, and now We have heard what you have said and what you ask of

[1] The covenant between Pedro and Charles by which each king appointed six men who were to elect the hundred combatants is dated: Messina, the 9th of the kalends of January 1282 (Incarnation).—Bofarull.

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Us, to which We answer that, for many reasons, We are bound to help and advise you. In your dishonour We have greater part than any person of the world and, so likewise in the harm you have suffered, and especially as regards Our brother the count of Alençon, whom We have lost by so base a death. But, if We had ten times the reasons We have, We should not know what to do; for We are bound to the King of Aragon, Our brother-in-law, by oath, to support and help him against all men in the world and he, also, is thus bound to us; and again, We are bound not to go against him for any reason in the world, and so, in this strait, We do not know what to say.

Then rose the cardinal who was the Pope's Legate with full power and said: "Lord King, let not this hinder you; I am here with full power from the Holy Father; and you know that the Pope has that power that, what he binds on earth is bound in Heaven and what he absolves on earth is absolved in Heaven. Wherefore I, in the name of God and of the Holy Apostolic Father, absolve you from all oath and all promise that you have made for any reason, to your brother-in-law En Pedro of Aragon. And of that I shall write for you, as soon as I leave this place, a proper document, with pendant seal, wherefore, henceforth, hold yourself absolved from all in which you were bound to him. And, again, I require you, in the name of the Holy Father, to prepare to march against him, and I give you and all who follow you or aid you, absolution from punishment and guilt, and I pronounce an interdict on all those who oppose you. And this I will proclaim to-morrow in the city of Paris in general, and then it will be proclaimed every day in every Christian country of the world.[1]

[1] So inciting was the crusade against King Pedro, that the people, bent on obtaining forgiveness of their sins had been given to understand that, in default of arms, it was enough to throw a stone as against Don Pedro, and they used to say in throwing it: "Je jette cette pierre contre Pierre D'Aragon pour gagner l'Indulgence."—Bofarull.

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And again, Lord King, I tell you, in the name of the Holy Father, that the treasure of Saint Peter will aid you and will provide you with all you will need. And so prepare to give your help and advice to your uncle, King Charles, who is here present, for this you can do henceforth without any hindrance.

CHAPTER LXXX.

How the King of France promised to aid King Charles in person and with followers against the Lord King of Aragon and decided to go with him to Bordeaux; and of the crime he plotted against the Lord King of Aragon; all of which was agreed to by the Twelve Peers of France.

THEN the King of France answered and said: "Cardinal, We have heard well what you have said in the name of the Holy Father, and We know that all is as you have said, and such is Our belief and such must it be of all faithful Christians. Wherefore We hold Ourselves absolved of all that bound Us to the King of Aragon, Our brother-in-law. And as it is so, We, from this time on, fully promise Our Uncle, King Charles, the help he asks of Us and also Our advice in the matter of the combat which is arranged between him and the King of Aragon. Firstly, Uncle, We reply to you freely that We will help you against the King of Aragon and his supporters, in person and with followers, as long as there is life in Us. And this We swear and promise you under the jurisdiction of the Cardinal, who is here in the place of the Holy Apostolic Father. And this We offer you for the honour of Holy Church and for yours because We owe it to you and in order to avenge Our brother, the count of Alençon. Next, We advise you on no

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account to fail to be at Bordeaux on the day of the combat. And We will go with you in person, and We shall go so well accompanied that We do not believe the King of Aragon will be so bold as to dare to appear on that day; or, if he does, that he will not fail to lose his life. Neither the King of England nor anyone else will be able to help him."

And upon this the King of France said no more and King Charles spoke and said: "Nephew and Lord, We gratefully give you thanks, in the name of Holy Church and in Ours for the good offer you have made us and the good advice you are giving Us about the journey to the combat. But We fear that the King of Aragon might say something in detriment of Our good faith, if We go thus accompanied; all that is arranged between us is put down in writings divided by A B C."[1]

Said the King of France: "He can say nothing against your good faith on that account; We have seen already the covenants between you and him; the clause you fear says that you shall not bring more than those hundred knights who are to enter the lists with you, and he the same. And you will not bring more than those hundred who are to enter the lists with you, but We shall bring whom We like, for there is nothing about that in the covenant. He has not thought of this, and so you will not fail in what you have promised." Answered King Charles: "Assuredly, it is the truth, the covenant says thus; therefore I shall do what you, Lord, have advised."

Then the Legate rose and gave many thanks to the King of France in the name of the Holy Apostolic Father

[1] "During the Middle Ages two copies of the same deed were written on a sheet of parchment perpendicularly and separated only by a scroll containing three or more letters of the alphabet, according to the size of the parchment; when divided or cut asunder for each contracting party to take his part, the identity of the deed could be proved, even to the illiterate, by showing that their separated edges fitted one into another, and reproduced the perfect letters." (Gayangos.)

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and all his College, and made the sign of the Cross over him and blessed him and gave him his blessing.[1] And when this was done, a great many of the Twelve Peers of France present rose and confirmed all that the King of France had said and ordained, and all offered their person, their fortune and all they had, in aid of King Charles, and offered to follow the King of France at their cost and providing, in order to obtain the indulgence. And when all had spoken King Charles rose and spoke thus: "Lord and King, We have little time left to go to Bordeaux; We shall leave the Legate here, who will not part from you, and We shall go to Provence and We shall take with Us sixty knights of France, upon whom We have set Our heart for entering the lists with Us, if the combat takes place; and We shall have forty others from Provence. And with these hundred knights, no more, We shall be at Bordeaux eight days before the time, and you will order your going according to your wish, for to your going We can and must say nothing." And the Lord King of France answered that he thought well of all this and that he should go and attend to his affairs; that he knew what he had to do. And upon this they kissed each other and took leave of one another.

And so I must let the King of France be, and the Legate who was having the crusade preached daily everywhere, and I shall speak of King Charles.

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[1] It seems redundant to bless and give a blessing, but I believe the difference is that the former is done in words and the latter by a gesture of the hand.—Bofarull.

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CHAPTER LXXXI.

How King Charles had twenty galleys fitted out at Marseilles of which En G. Cornut was made commander in order that he should go at once to Malta and seek En Roger de Luria, to fight him and bring him away, dead or captive.

When King Charles had taken leave of the King of France he went on his journeys to Marseilles, with the sixty French knights whom he had selected. And when he was at Marseilles, he sent for En G. Cornut, who was of the honourable men of Marseilles, and of an ancient family and told him to set up a recruiting table at once and man twenty-five galleys with men of good birth, all of Marseilles and of the coast of Provence, and not to put in a man of any other nation, but only true Provençals, and to provide them with boatswains and steersmen, and the prows should have double armament. And that he should see to it that every man was as brave as a lion, and that he himself would be Commander and Chief Lord. And that he should go at once towards Sicily and visit the castle of Malta and there refresh his men and, when they were refreshed, that he should seek En Roger de Luria, who had not more than eighteen galleys, for the King of Aragon had not ordered more than twenty-two to be fitted out, and of these he had taken four to Catalonia, and so there did not remain more than eighteen. "And if we can take these, all the sea is ours, for all the people expert in seamanship whom the King of Aragon has, are in those eighteen galleys. And so do not, on any account, let them escape you, and do not appear before Us until you have killed or taken them." And, upon this, En G. Cornut rose and went to kiss King Charles's feet and said: "Lord, I give you grateful thanks for the honour you bestow upon me, and I promise that I will not return to Marseilles, nor to your presence, until I can bring you En Roger de Luria dead or a prisoner

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and all the fleet I shall find with him." "Now," said King Charles, "prepare to hasten in such wise that, in eight days, you are gone from here, and this We command you under penalty of losing Our love." "Lord," said En G. Cornut, "it shall be done as you command."

And so En G. Cornut arranged to fit out the twenty-five galleys and did all King Charles had commanded. And so I must tell you about him when he has accomplished his good journey; may the Moors also always make as good a journey. Now I shall cease to speak of King Charles, for I shall know well how to return to where I am leaving him.

It is the truth that the said En G. Cornut fitted out the twenty-five galleys. And they were assuredly the best-equipped galleys that ever issued from Provence, and he put on board full sixty expert men of his lineage, and then many honourable men of Marseilles. And he shaped his course for Naples and there refreshed his men and, when they were refreshed, he shaped his course for Trapani with the twenty-two galleys, and the three others passed through Boca del Faro, to get news; and for this he chose the three best rowing galleys he had with him and gave them notice that they would find him at the castle of Malta, where they should go, and whoever got there first should wait for the others.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria after having scoured the coast of Calabria and taken towns and homesteads captured the three galleys which the admiral of Marseilles had sent to get news of him; and how the said En Roger went close to the men from Marseilles.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of them and shall speak of the admiral En Roger de Luria who had fitted

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out the twenty-five galleys as the Lord King of Aragon had commanded. And he sent four and a leny to Trapani, to the Lord King of Aragon, as you have heard already; and so twenty-one galleys and two lenys were equipped and these were very well manned with Catalans and Latins. And when they were fitted out and he had sent the four and the armed leny to the Lord King at Trapani, the admiral, with twenty-one galleys and two lenys, scoured the coast of Calabria, as far as beyond Castella, which is close to the Gulf of Taranto; and in many places they made raids inland and took towns and homesteads, and he garrisoned the said village of Castella, and they made much gain and could have done much damage if they had wished. But the Calabrians came to the admiral, and said: "Do not injure us; you may be certain that we are all convinced that, if God brings the virtuous King of Aragon safe out of the combat he has undertaken to have with King Charles, we shall all be his, and so may it please you not to do us that harm which you could do us."

And the admiral, seeing this, understood that they spoke well and went on his way, doing the least harm possible; for, in truth, the people of that country were, at that time, so ignorant in matters of arms, that a hundred almugavars could take a thousand of them (if so be that they met a thousand) for they did not know at all what to do. And the men with the admiral, almugavars and retainers, were such that, in one night, during the hours of darkness, they would go eighty or a hundred miles inland and carry off to the sea whatever they wished, so that their gain was infinite, and he who would recount it would have to write so much that everyone would be tired of hearing it. Wherefore I pass on with a summary, for indeed I could recount to you over thirty raids they made in this expedition alone, which the admiral made with these twenty-one galleys and two lenys, and in each

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they met chivalry and foot-soldiers and defeated them all. A big book might be made of it. Therefore, it suffices that I tell you a summary of the journeys. What shall I tell you? When the admiral had scoured the whole of Calabria and had performed many great feats with great gain, he returned to Messina. And when he came to Cape Larmita, which is at the Eastern entrance to Boca del Faro, he met, at break of day, the three Provençal galleys which En G. Cornut, the admiral of Marseilles, had sent to get news. And the two armed lenys, which went ahead of the admiral En Roger de Luria saw the three galleys which were posted on the look-out, but were resting for the night, awaiting news. And as soon as the two armed lenys had discovered them, they returned with muffled oars to the admiral and told him. And, at once, the admiral separated his galleys in echelon and surrounded the three galleys, so that they were quite unable to get away. And he immediately approached them in person with three galleys. And they, who heard them, seized their oars, for they trusted more in their oars than in God, or in their arms; but the admiral went to attack them. What shall I tell you? As they turned, they saw other galleys already in front of them and, immediately, they were vanquished and taken, and thus they got those news they were seeking; they could say they had sure news of En Roger de Luria.

And when the admiral had captured them and it was day, he wished to learn all their plans and he learnt them, for nothing was hidden from him, and he went immediately, very joyously, to Messina and took the three galleys with him, stern foremost and pendants trailing. And immediately, on that same day, he landed all that was in his galleys and all the sick and wounded and took fresh people. And on the following day he left Messina with his twenty-one galleys and two lenys

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and took his course to Malta. What could I tell you? That day he went as far as Syracuse and asked for news of the Provençal galleys. And a barge which had arrived from Gozo told them that they were at Malta. And the admiral left Syracuse at once and went as far as Cape Passaro that day and there rested for the night. And when he had rested for the night and day was near he, coasting along the shore, went as far as Cape Ras-Altara; and this course he took in order that, if the Provençal galleys had left Malta, he should see them at any time, although he knew that they were to await there the three galleys he had taken; but he wished they should on no account be able to escape from him.

And when he came to Fuente de Scicli he made everyone land on the shore, and in the huerta of Scicli and at the castle they had great refreshment. Thus he made every man refresh and adjust himself and everyone examine his arms, and the cross-bowmen the cords and nuts of their cross-bows and all that was wanted.

So, that afternoon, they had great refreshment of meat and bread and wine and fruit—for this Scicli is one of the most fertile places in Sicily—and they all carried away water, which is of the most wholesome of the world, and everything was ordered and put in trim for battle. And when all had had supper and had provided themselves with water, the admiral preached to them and spoke many very good and timely words, and he said in particular: "Barons, before it is daylight I shall be in the part of Malta where I shall find twenty-two galleys and two lenys manned by men of Provence, and they are the flower of all Provence and also the pride of the men of Marseilles, who have always despised the Catalans more than any other people. And so, also, great honour and gain will result to the Lord King of Aragon and to all Catalonia from this battle, for, when we have defeated these men, the sea will be ours, and so be pleased all to

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remember to do well." And at once they all answered the admiral: "Let us go, for assuredly they are all ours, and this is the day that we have always desired, when we shall fight them." And all began to shout: "Aur, Aur."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria came to the port of Malta and reconnoitred the fleet of the men of Marseilles; and how he wished to show his pride in this first battle which he was determined to win.

AND they embarked at once and took with them a barge of eight oars they had found at Scicli, in order to reconnoitre the port secretly by means of it. And when they had embarked, they put out to sea with a land breeze, and before the hour of matins they were before the port and they went on immediately with muffled oars. The two armed lenys went to search the port and in front of them, at a distance of a cross-bow shot, went the barge. And the men of Provence had their two lenys on guard at each of the points at the entrance to the harbour; but the barge entered through the middle of the port with muffled oars, in such manner that they came in front of the castle and found all the galleys which had their oars unshipped, and they counted them all and found that there were twenty-two galleys and two lenys and discovered also that these two, as well, were at this post with oars unshipped. And so the barge went out of the port and found the two lenys which were cruising in the middle of the entrance to the port and they went at once to the admiral and told him what they had seen.

1238 And the admiral made his followers put on their armour at once and he put the galleys in order of battle.

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And when all were ready for battle, day was beginning to dawn, and all cried to the admiral: "Let us attack, for they are all ours." And then the admiral did a thing which should be counted to him more for madness than for sense; he said, God forbid he should attack them in their sleep, rather did he wish the trumpets and nakers to be sounded in the galleys to wake them up, and he would let them prepare. He did not wish that any man could say to him that he would not have defeated them if he had not found them asleep. And all cried: "The admiral says well." And this the admiral did more especially as it was his first battle since he had been made admiral, and he thus wished to show his boldness and the prowess of the worthy people with him. And he had the trumpets and nakers sounded and they began to enter the harbour, formed in line, and all galleys lashed together. And the Provençals awoke at the evil sound and, at once, the admiral En Roger, raising the oars, let them put on armour and get ready. And there came down from the castle full a hundred men of rank; and, between Provençals and Frenchmen who went on board the galleys of the Provençals, they were much the stronger, and this appeared clearly in the battle. And when En G. Cornut, the admiral of Marseilles, saw the pride of the admiral En Roger de Luria, who might have killed or taken them all without a battle, he said, so loud that all heard it: "Ah, God, what is this? What people are these? These are not men, rather are they devils, whose only wish is a battle, for they could have taken us all already if they had wished, but they did not wish it." And he added: "Therefore, Lords, consider who you have to fight with; now seems the time to act. Here is the pride of Catalonia against the honour of Provence, or all dishonour, as long as the world lasts. Therefore be all prepared to do well, for we have arrived at the point that we have sought since leaving Marseilles;

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it seems to me that we need not have sought it, for they have come to us. Now let the event go as it may, for there is no holding back."

And then he had the trumpets sounded and the sails hoisted and, well prepared and in battle array, he came towards the galleys of En Roger de Luria, and the galleys of En Roger came towards his. And in the middle of the harbour they came to the attack so vigorously that the prow of every galley was shattered, and the battle was most cruel and fierce. What shall I tell you? The play of the lances and darts thrown by the Catalans was such that nothing was a defence against them; for there were darts thrown which passed through men's breastplates and through everything, and thrusts of lances which passed through the man they hit and through the deck of the galley. And of the cross-bowmen we need not speak, for they were enlisted cross-bowmen, who were so dexterous that they did not discharge a shot without killing or disabling the man they attacked, for in battles the enlisted men have it all their own way. Wherefore it would be folly in a Catalan admiral to take with him in his galleys more tersols[1] than twenty in a hundred men for reconnoitring; for the enlisted cross-bowmen are so dexterous and so organised that nothing can resist them. What shall I tell you? The battle began at sunrise and lasted until the hour of vespers and never could any man see more cruel a battle. And although the men of Marseilles had the advantage of one galley more and of the hundred men of rank who had come on board from the castle, in the end the Provençals could not hold out, for when the hour of vespers came, full three thousand five hundred

[1] Bofarull is in doubt as to the meaning of "tersols," but from the root of the word "ters" and various other mentions of tersols in the Chronicle is inclined to think that they were the men who occupied the third post in the ship, after the 'proeles' (sailors in the prow) and the rowers and that they were fighting men. In Chapter CXXX. however, rowing is clearly their task.

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of the Provençals had been killed, so that those who remained on deck were of no account. And when the Catalans saw that those few men were defending themselves so vigorously, they cried in a loud voice: "Aragon, Aragon, at them, at them!" And all gathered fresh strength and boarded the galleys of the Provençals, and all they found on deck were killed. What shall I tell you? Between wounded and others, who hid below, not five hundred men came out alive. And of these many died afterwards of mortal wounds they had received. And the admiral En G. Cornut and all the kinsmen and friends he had with him, and the men of rank and position were all massacred. And so they took the twenty-two galleys and one of the armed lenys; the other escaped out to sea, for it had many more oars than those of the admiral En Roger; and it went to Naples and Marseilles to recount their unsuccessful errand; and when King Charles knew it, he was greatly grieved and displeased and held his cause for lost.

And when the admiral En Roger had taken the galleys and the leny he went to the western point of the port and landed his people, and each man looked for his companion, and they found they had lost full three hundred men, and of wounded there were two hundred of whom the greater number recovered. And he told them that any booty any man had taken was his, solely and absolutely, and that he gave up to them all rights the King and he had in the gain; for they had enough, as he had the galleys and the prisoners for the King and for himself. And so all gave him thanks, and that night they had plenty of food, and also the following day; and they at once sent the armed barge to Syracuse, to make known the victory God had given them. And the admiral ordered the King's officials at Syracuse, in a letter, to send at once many runners to Messina and throughout the island of Sicily to recount this good news

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and so it was done. And may God give us as great joy as there was throughout all Sicily.

And, besides, the admiral manned the armed leny he had taken from the Provençals and sent it to Catalonia, to the Lord King and the Queen. And it went by Mallorca and came to Barcelona, and from Barcelona they sent a runner to the Lord King and to my Lady the Queen and to the Infantes and throughout the territories of the Lord King of Aragon. And it is needless to tell you the joy of the Lord King and of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes. And so, likewise, the leny of Marseilles came to that city and recounted what had happened to them. And the mourning began, in Marseilles and in Provence, which is lasting still and will last for a hundred years. Now I shall let this be and shall turn to the admiral En Roger de Luria.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria took Malta and Gozo; and of the brotherly friendship ever since between Catalans and Sicilians.

When the admiral had refreshed his people for two days he went, with raised banner, as far as the city of Malta and wished to attack it. But the notables told him not to do them any damage, for the love of God, for the city would put itself in the keeping and under the command of the Lord King, and that they surrendered to him, to do and say all he commanded. And then the admiral entered the city with all his followers and received their homage and that of all the island and left with them two hundred good men of Catalonia to defend them against those of the castle; but fewer would

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have sufficed, for they of the castle had lost the greater number in the battle and chiefly those who were expert. And when he had done this, he went with up-raised banner, to besiege the castle and attack it; but when he saw that he could do nothing without catapults, he raised the siege, resolving shortly to lay a siege he would not raise until he had taken the castle. And the notables of Malta gave the admiral jewels of the value of a thousand onzas, and so he was pleased with them, and they with him; and they gave so many provisions to the galleys that they sufficed them until they came to Messina. And when this was done, he went to the island of Gozo and attacked the town and took the ravelin at once, and when he had taken the ravelin and was going to attack the town, it surrendered to the Lord King and En Roger entered the town in his name and received the oath and homage and left one hundred Catalans to guard the castle which is in tne town. And when he had settled the town and the island of Gozo, the men of Gozo gave him jewels to the value of five hundred onzas, and great provisions for the galleys, and so the admiral went away pleased with them and they also remained joyous and pleased with him.

And when this was done he set his course for Sicily and landed at Syracuse and there great honour was shown him and a great feast made and refreshment given. And then he went to Aci and then to Taormina, and in each place a great feast was made for him and so many provisions given that they did not know where to put them. And to each place he towed the galleys he had taken, stern foremost and pendants trailing, and thus also they entered Messina. And you need not ask me about the feast and the illuminations there, for so great was the joy that it is enduring still and will endure for ever. And then all Sicilians considered themselves safe and secure; for, until then, they had not considered

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themselves quite secure; but then they knew the valour of the admiral and of the Catalans, and they esteemed them and feared them. And then they began to mingle with them, and contract marriages with them in Messina and in all Sicily, and they were and are and always will be like brothers. And God send bad luck to whoever tries to undo this brotherly love; for their association is very good, there never were two nations who united so well as these have done.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the admiral and will speak again of the King of Aragon.

CHAPTER LXXXV

How the Lord King of Aragon, departing from Trapani to go to the combat at Bordeaux, went coasting along Barbary; and how he spoke with the men of Collo from whom he learned as a sure fact that forty thousand men of arms had died at Collo when the Lord King was there with his fleet.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had departed from Trapani with the four galleys and an armed leny he ordered En Roger[1] Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol to steer for Goletta, for he wished to go along the coast to Barbary, and to go to the town of Collo, to see if it was inhabited and what was being done and said there. And as he commanded, so they did. And when they were at Goletta, the Lord King with a good company went to hunt goats which are wild there, for he was one of the best hunters of wild game in the world and always liked to go hunting in the mountains. And they took so many goats that all the galleys were provisioned with them, for it is amongst the best and richest meat in the world. And they killed so many that they became scarce.

[1] Further on Muntaner calls him Ramon.

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And when they had refreshed one day at Goletta they came, coasting along Barbary, to the town of Collo. And, at once, all the people of Collo who had returned there and a thousand men besides who had remained on guard, went to the seashore with their arms, and the galleys were at anchor in the roads with their banners hoisted. And the Lord King in person went on board the leny and said: "Let us approach the shore, and hang out the shields. I wish to speak with them." "Ah, Lord," said En Roger Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, "What is it you want to do? Send one of us or a knight, and he can equally well give you the news you wish to hear." Said the Lord King: "We shall not like it so well if We do not hear it Ourselves." And then the rowers of the leny began to row and when they were within a cross-bow shot, the King sent a palomer[1] on shore who knew the Saracen language very well, to tell them to give his leny a safe-conduct and not to act treacherously towards him, and the leny would do the same by them. "And if they ask thee about the galleys, whose they are, tell them that they are the King of Aragon's and are going with a message to Catalonia. And if they ask thee further, tell them yonder knight in the leny will answer, on the part of the messengers, any questions you wish to ask him."

And so the palomer landed and said to them what the Lord King had commanded. And at once the Moors gave them a safe-conduct, and they had a Moor who could make himself understood, who went in the leny with the palomer who was bringing the safe-conduct. And when they had the safe-conduct the leny approached the land and four Saracen knights on horseback went into the sea, as far as the stern of the leny, and went on board. And the Lord King made them sit down before him, and

[1] The man in the top-mast.

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gave them to eat and asked for news, what the Moors had said and done when the King of Aragon had gone away. And they said, after the King of Aragon had set sail, for two days more, no man dared approach the town, rather they thought the sails were of another fleet which came to aid the King of Aragon. "Now tell me," said the Lord King, "on the day of the battle, did you find many people missing?" "You may be sure," said they, "that altogether we lost more than forty thousand men of arms." Said the Lord King: "How can that be? We who were with the Lord King of Aragon did not think that we had killed more than ten thousand?" "Assuredly," said they, "there were more than forty thousand, and we tell you that the fleeing crowd was so great that men suffocated each other. And if, by ill fortune, the King had gone over that mountain, we should all have been killed; not one would have escaped." Said the Lord King: "But how could he have gone over the mountain when you had chivalry ready to attack the town and the tents, if the King of Aragon had passed over the mountain?" "Assuredly," said they, "there was nothing of all that, for we are people gathered together by chance, and there can never be amongst us that concord necessary to make us sure of success. And therefore we tell you that if, for our undoing, he had gone over the mountain, we should have been killed and the whole country conquered. From there onwards he would have found no opposition, rather he would have taken Bona and Constantine and Jijelli and Bougie and then a great number of the coast towns." And then the Lord King lifted his eyes to Heaven and said: "Ah, God, Lord and Father, may it please Thee not to forgive this sin to him who caused this evil, but rather avenge Thou it; may I see it before long." "Now, tell me," said the Lord King, "those people, do they wish much evil to the King of Aragon?" And they answered: "Evil?

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God forbid, rather do we wish him more good than to any lord on earth, Christian or Moor, and we assure you, in good faith, that owing to his merit, if he had remained here until now, fifty thousand people, men, women and children, would have had themselves baptised and would have become his. Also we boldly say to you, on our faith and that of King Mirabosecri, that all merchants and mariners or any other person who is a subject of the King of Aragon can come in safety and security to Collo and to all the territory of King Mirabosecri. And of this we assure you, on that faith that God has put into our hearts and you can believe us, for we all four who are here, are chiefs and lords of this people and this place and of Jijelli, and are blood relations of King Mirabosecri. And the truth is as we have told you." And the Lord King said to them: "As you are such honourable men, whilst you are here trust us." And they said that at no time would they fear that followers of the King of Aragon would play them false or betray them, for it had never been done: "And be sure that we would trust no other people in the world except you. God has given a virtue to the King of Aragon and to his people which is that they keep faith with their friends and with their enemies. Now, as we have told you what you have asked us, we pray you to tell us where the King of Aragon is, or what he did when he departed from this place, and what he has done." And so the Lord King recounted to them what had happened to him since he left Collo. And they wondered and said that, truly, he was the most accomplished knight in the world and of the greatest courage and that, if he lived long, he would subjugate all the world.

And so they were much pleased with what they had heard and took leave of the Lord King and begged him to tarry until they had sent him refreshment, and said that, in honour of the Lord King of Aragon, they would

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give refreshment in this place to these galleys and to all galleys of his which would come to it and would wish to tarry there. And the Lord King gave them many thanks and gave them presents on board the galleys to which he took them. And then he had them set on shore and it was not long before they sent, in barges, ten oxen and twenty sheep and all the bread they found baked on shore, and honey and butter and a great deal of fish. Of wine they had none, rather the Lord King gave them two casks of Mena wine, one white and one red, which they liked better than if he had given them fine horses.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How, after having stayed one day at Collo, the Lord King set his course towards Cabrera and Ibiza; and how he landed at the grau of Cullera, which is in the Kingdom of Valencia; and how he sent letters to the hundred knights who were to be with him in the combat.

And so the Lord King stayed that day at Collo and refreshed his people. And at night he put out to sea with the land-breeze and had fine weather, and set his course for Cabrera. And when he came to Cabrera he took in water and then took his course to Ibiza and then landed at the grau[1] of Cullera, and from Cullera runners went to my Lady the Queen and the Infantes who were at Sajoncosa, and through all the country. And when everyone heard the news, they made processions and illuminations, and they praised God, Who had given them back their lord, safe and joyous.

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[1] "Many towns on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, are a mile or two from the shore on which is their landing-place, the 'grau' (the Latin 'gradus'). The object of such graus was not convenience, but safety for the place itself, from the sudden attacks of corsairs, who must leave their ships to get to it."—Gayangos.

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And as soon as he came to Cullera he went to the grau where he stayed two days, and then went to the city of Valencia. And do not ask me about the feast made there, for, of all the feasts I have recounted to you, which had been made in Valencia for any cause, none had been like this one. What shall I tell you? Whoever was making a feast, the Lord King was thinking about his affairs and especially about the combat; he lost not one hour nor one moment of the day. And he, at once, commanded letters to be written to those he had settled should be with him in the combat, whose names he had written down; for, whilst at sea, he had considered them all and written them down. And this list he gave to his clerks in order that they should let everyone know, in his name, that on a fixed day they should be at Jaca apparelled in the manner in which they would have to enter the lists. And as he commanded, so it was done. And the runners went everywhere. And the King had chosen a hundred and fifty knights for the hundred he needed, in order that if, when they were at Jaca, any were ill, he could always select a hundred and together with them, go to Bordeaux.

And so everyone got ready in the best manner possible in the way in which he would have to enter the lists, for none suspected that letters had been sent to more than a hundred. No one knew it except only the Lord King and two clerks who wrote the letters with their own hands and whom the Lord King enjoined, under penalty of death, to keep the secret and not to let anyone know that there were more than a hundred. And in this the King did very wisely; for if it had been known that he was summoning more, each one would have been in doubt whether it was he the Lord King did not wish to enter the lists and so would not have apparelled himself so well, or with such high spirit as did he who believed firmly that he was one of the hundred.

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CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the Lord King En Pedro sent the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles to the King of England at Bordeaux to ascertain whether he would safeguard the lists to him; and how he heard from the Seneschal of Bordeaux that the King of France was coming to Bordeaux with twelve thousand men of arms to kill him.

AND when the Lord King had sent the letters in all directions, he appointed very honourable messengers whom he sent to Bordeaux, and amongst them the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles, to ask the King of England whether he would safeguard the lists for him, so that he would have to fear nothing from anyone at Bordeaux. And so the noble En Gilabert departed from the Lord King and went to Bordeaux, and the few words the Lord King had committed to him sufficed. He who sends a wise messenger need say but few words, and the noble En Gilabert was of the wisest knights of Catalonia.

It is the truth that when the combats were settled between the Lord King of Aragon and King Charles[1]

[1] Romey denies the truth of the story of Don Pedro's appearance in the lists at Bordeaux; a document preserved in the Archives at Barcelona, however, confirms the fact of his journey. "Petrus Dei gratia Aragonum et Sicilie Rex. Inclito et Karissimo nepoti suo infanti dompno Johani Illustris Regis Castelle filio salutem et sinceram dileccionem. Femos vos saber commo nos vincimos por fetcho de la batayla que era firmada entre Rey Carlos et nos la qual se habia de fazer el primer dia desti present mes de junio en que somos et irribamos en Valencia XVII dias andados del mes de mayo primero passado de si llegamos personalmiente a Bordell et fiziemos nuestra presentacio al seneschal de: Rey Dinglatierra mas por que el rey Dinglatierra avia desmandada la batayla end avia fetcho su mandamiento al seneschal no la quiso pendrer el seneschal ni assegurar nin podiera qual el rey de Francia et el rey Karlos eran y con todo lor poder et nos oviendo fetcho todo complimiento que deviemos nin podiemos oviemos nos de tornar e somos en Tirassona sanos et con salut loado a Dios et enbiamos vos lo dezir por que sabemos que vos plaçra. De mais sabet que luego que iribamos vos ovieramos fetcho saber nuestro ardit mas non podiemos por el pocco tiempo que aviamos pero somos muy maravellados de vos ca sabendo que venir deviamos non llegastes quentra esta frontera por veernos ca nos muy grando sahor et gran placer ovieramos de la vuestra vista assi commo cuydamos que ovierades vos de la nuestra otrossi. Ahun vos femos saber que entendiemos que vos

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they agreed that messengers from each should go together to King Edward of England, who was one of the most noble lords in the world, and that each would pray him to preside over the combat and to set up the lists in the city of Bordeaux. And the King of England, at the earnest entreaty of both, agreed to guard and secure the lists at Bordeaux. And this he promised and assured both through their messengers, and that he would be at Bordeaux in person. And so the Lord King of Aragon thought that the King of England was at Bordeaux and therefore, assuredly, he sent the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles to him. But when the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles expected to find the King of England at Bordeaux, he did not find him; and he came before his seneschal who was a man noble and of great probity, and told him the message as he was to have said it to the King of England. And the seneschal said: "En Gilabert, Lord; my Lord the King of England has indeed assured these combats and promised to be there in person. Now it is the truth that, since he assured the combats, he has heard for certain that the King of France is coming to Bordeaux and is bringing full twelve thousand armed knights. And King Charles will be here, at Bordeaux, on the day the King of France comes, as I have heard. And the King of England sees that he will not be able

queredes yr pera Portogall et defend al rey de Castella vuestro padre de la qual cosa nos maravellamos muicho commo vos queredes a esti tiempo partir de don Sancho et qualquier que vos de esti conseio no vos conseia bien en ello et cuydavamos nos fiermamiente que quando oviessedes vos de tomar tal conseio que vos devierades conseyar ante con nos des que eramos en logar que lo vos podiades fazer. Pero pues que hata qui non no lo ficziestes rogamos que vistas las presentes vos tornedes a esta frontera do nos somos et que vos veades con nos que es cosa ca nos plazra muycho et por que nos podamos consciar lo meior a vuestra pro et a vuestra honra. E otrossi nos faremos et aguisaremos commo don Sancho faga todas las cosas que vos por bien toviердes. E en esto non pongades dubda et enbiadnos sobresto vuestra respuesta con vuestro special mandado et con ell fazer nos saber ende vuestro entendimiento et vuestra voluntat. Data Tirasone XII Kalendas julii anno Domini M°CC°LXXX° tercio.—Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Reg. No. 47, folio 119.

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to hold the lists secure and so he does not wish to be present; rather, he has commanded me to send word to the King of Aragon not to come to Bordeaux if his life and honour are dear to him; that he knows for certain that the King of France is coming to Bordeaux to kill the King of Aragon and all who will be with him. "I wanted to send, this very day, messengers to the Lord King of Aragon about this, but as you have come, I have told you, in order that you send word of it and remain to see if what I have told you is the truth, and that you always bear witness to what you will see here."

And the noble En Gilabert, being wise in many ways, sounded the seneschal in order to know what thoughts he harboured, and he found him always well-disposed towards the King of Aragon, and the more he tried him the more true he found him. And so, when he had assured himself well of the loyalty of the seneschal and of his goodwill towards him, he sent word to the Lord King of Aragon of all the seneschal had told him, by many runners who went each his own way. And the runners were four, and all four, within two days, entered Jaca where they found the Lord King of Aragon who had come there in a few days, having made two days' marches into one. And do not imagine that he tarried for any feast or rejoicing that was made for him anywhere.

And when the Lord King heard what En Gilabert made known to him on the part of the King of England and of the seneschal he was greatly displeased; however, the knights he had summoned all arrived on the day fixed by him, and not one of the hundred and fifty failed. And all came arrayed and apparelled as was suitable for their rank. And whilst all was being prepared for that event the Lord King went to Saragosa, to visit the city and to see my Lady the Queen and the Infantes. I need not tell you whether they made a feast, for there had never been such joy and cheerfulness on earth.

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And he remained four days with them. And presently he took leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them and gave them his blessing.

And when he came to Jaca, that same day, ne found four more runners who had come from En Gilabert to let him know that the King of France and King Charles, both together, had entered Bordeaux on such a day, with as much chivalry as you have heard before and that they had pitched their camp near to where the lists were made in which the two Kings were to fight, at a distance of less than four cross-bow shots. Every day the King of France and King Charles came to the lists with a great retinue, to see how they were ordained; you may be sure they were better ordained than any lists had ever been. At the top was a chapel in which the King of England was to be seated, and then, all round, was the space for the knights who were to keep the lists. And when the Lord King had heard this account he was more displeased than he had been before and sent his runners to En Gilabert to tell him to let him know of what mind the seneschal was towards him. And he answered the truth and let him know most assuredly that there was no man in the world who could love a lord more than the seneschal loved him, and of that he might be sure. And when the Lord King had heard this he considered himself safe.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and shall turn to King Charles and to the King of France.

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CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

How King Charles knew how to make many friends; and how he sent the count of Artois to the Pope, to ask him to provide him with money and to arrange to defend Calabria, doing all the damage he could do to the Sicilians; and how he was at Bordeaux on the day fixed.

WHEN King Charles had equipped the twenty-five galleys of En G. Cornut and they had left Marseilles, and he had appointed the forty knights of Provence who were to enter the lists with him, he acted with the same great wisdom that the Lord King of Aragon had done about the hundred and fifty knights, for he had over three hundred letters sent to knights in diverse directions to say that they should enter the lists with him, being, each one of them, a knight whom he loved and trusted much. And of these some were Romans and some from every city of Tuscany and Lombardy, and there were Neapolitans and knights from Calabria and from Apulia and from the Abruzzi and from the Marches and from Languedoc and from Gascony; and each one imagined that the truth was that King Charles loved and esteemed him so much that he wished him to be in the lists with him. But he had quite settled in his mind that he would have mostly Frenchmen or Provençals. But he did this in order that, for all time, they and their descendants should believe that King Charles loved them much, so that they, therefore, should take his part, for each of these knights was very powerful indeed in his own country. And as he had planned, so it has happened; the greatest party and the greatest strength that King Robert[1] had in Rome and in Tuscany and in Lombardy and in the other places,

[1] Robert the Wise, also called the Good, succeeded Charles II, the Lame, on the throne of Naples, and reigned from 1309 to 1343 during the time therefore, when Muntaner was writing his chronicle.

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he had for this reason that each man said: "My father was to have been one of the hundred to enter the lists with King Charles against the King of Aragon." And they prided themselves much upon it, and so they should, if it were as they imagined. Wherefore you see how many friends he knew how to gain for himself and for his people without its costing him anything. And so you can think that both the Lord King of Aragon and King Charles were wise enough; but King Charles had the advantage of him of long experience, because of the many more days he counted.

And when King Charles had done all this he commanded his barons, kinsmen and friends, and more especially the count of Artois who was the son of his nephew, to go to Naples with much chivalry, to ask the Pope to supply him with money, in order that the count of Artois should defend Calabria and fit out galleys at Naples and, with the twenty-five galleys from Provence, harry Sicily and do there all the damage he could whilst the King of Aragon was unable to help. And it was done as he commanded. And when he had ordained all this he, on his part, and the King of France on another, went to Bordeaux, so that, on the day settled between them, they entered Bordeaux in the way En Gilabert de Cruilles had let the Lord King of Aragon know, as I have told you already.

Now behold the King of France and King Charles at Bordeaux where they have pitched their tents, as you have heard already. And I shall let them be and will turn to the Lord King of Aragon.

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CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon arranged to be at Bordeaux on the day fixed for the combat without the knowledge of anyone; and of his wonderful and notable fearlessness in keeping his oath.

AND when the Lord King of Aragon knew the good disposition of the seneschal towards him he resolved that, on no account, would he fail to be in the lists on the day fixed; but this he kept secret and would confide to no man. And presently he sent for a worthy merchant, by name En Domingo de la Figuera, who was a native of Saragossa and was a good man and loyal, wise and discreet, and he was a merchant always dealing in horses in Gascony and Navarre, getting them in Castile and taking them to all those parts and to the districts of Bordeaux and of Toulouse. And he was a man of great wealth, for he collected twenty or thirty horses at a time from Castile and took them to the aforementioned places. Therefore you may believe that he knew all the roads there were in each of these provinces, as well high-roads as by-roads, as well in the plains as in the mountains, for there was no path in the country, whether in those parts or in Aragon or in Catalonia that he did not know much better than did the people of the country. And this he knew from long usage and because sometimes he had to go off the roads, in order that the horses he was taking to some richs homens should not suffer in the feuds there were between them. And when En Domingo de la Figuera came to the King, the King took him into a chamber and said to him: "En Domingo, you know that you are Our natural subject and that We havè always highly esteemed you and yours; wherefore We wish you to undertake a thing for which, when accomplished by the help of God, We will reward you

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so well that it will make you and yours prosperous for ever." And En Domingo, who heard this, rose and went to kiss his foot and said: "Lord, command, for I am ready to do all that you command." And upon this the Lord King took a book in which the Holy Gospels were written and told him to swear that he would speak to no man in the world of what he was going to say to him. And he swore it at once and did homage to him with hands and mouth.

And when it was done, the Lord King said to him: "Do you know, En Domingo, what you shall do? You will take twenty-seven horses of Ours, those I shall tell you, and of them you will send nine distributed among three places on the road We shall take from here to Bordeaux, and another nine on the road We may take on Our return through Navarre, and another nine on the road we may take through Castile. Our wish is that, on the day fixed, We be in the lists for the combat at Bordeaux, We, in person, and we shall go in this manner: you will ride on horseback as a lord and We shall go as your squire on another horse, with a hunting spear in Our hand, and We shall have with Us En Bernart de Peratallada, who will ride on another horse, with saddle-bags, and he will carry Our saddle-bag, which will be light, for there will not be more in it than Our coat of mail and money for expenses, and he too will carry a hunting spear. And we will ride all day without stopping in any place and, at night, at the time of the first sleep, we shall stop at an inn and we will dine and rest for the night. And when matins are rung We shall have other horses which we shall find there and which you will have had saddled; and we shall leave the first horses behind and we will do the same thing everywhere. And I shall be your squire and shall hold your stirrup when you mount and I shall carve before you at table.

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And En Bernart de Peratallada will look after the horses. And so it is needful that, in going, we make three days' marches into one, and many more in returning; and we must not return the way we came. And thus We wish it done. And so, consider what will be the safest road for us going, and take the nine horses and send each with a squire from among your friends whom you can trust, and with a single blanket only. And also arrange to send them each to the post at which we must find them in order to change, and that the squires know nothing of each other, but go, three by three, to their place. And so let it be with all. And each is to think that you are not sending more than those three; and tell them that you are sending the horses to be sold, and that they should await you in such and such a place and not leave it on any account; that they should look well after themselves and the horses and that all three should stop in the same inn. And when we arrive we shall stop at another inn, so that they will not see Me, for they would recognize Me. And see that you ordain all I have told you and that no man knows anything of it. And I shall have the horses delivered to you, three by three, so that those from whom you receive them do not know what we want them for, save that We shall tell them that We wish them delivered to you, in order that you have them tried outside, to know which is the best for Us."

And En Domingo de la Figuera answered: "Lord, as you have commanded, so it shall be done, and leave it to me from now onwards to arrange all; and as I know your wishes, I trust in God I shall fulfil them so that God and you will be satisfied. And with the help of God, be of good cheer, for I shall take you to Bordeaux by such ways that we need fear nothing, and so likewise in returning. And arrange to appoint a man to deliver the horses to me." And the Lord King said: "Well

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said; see that you make haste." And he called at once to his Master of the Horse, and told him if his love was dear to him, and under pain of death, no man must know anything of what he was about to tell him, except he and En Domingo de la Figuera. Said the Master of the Horse: "Lord, give your orders and I shall execute them." Said the Lord King: "Go at once and deliver twenty-seven horses by three and three, to En Domingo de la Figuera, choosing the best We have." And the Master of the Horse said: "Lord, leave it to En Domingo and me, for I certainly have under my orders full seventy horses, between those sent to you by the King of Mallorca and the King of Castile and by others, and so it seems to me that I can choose the twenty-seven best amongst them, albeit all are so good that there is little to choose." Said the Lord King: "Now go and luck go with you."

And they went and did all the Lord King had commanded to each, and the Lord King at once, on that day, chose ten knights to go, each separately, and he sent them all to Bordeaux, to En Gilabert de Cruilles; namely every day one, and each carried a message to En Gilabert and to the seneschal of Bordeaux. And all the message was that the Lord King of Aragon sent to ask the seneschal if he could assure his safety, that he was ready to be there on the day of the combat. And this he did for two reasons; the first, that people on the road should get used to seeing messengers from the King of Aragon pass every day; and that he should have news every day whether, in coming or going, they met anyone to do them any annoyance, and anyone to show them hospitality. The other reason was that he knew the seneschal had orders to do all the King of France commanded, save, however, that he had special orders given him by the King of England that, for no reason whatever, should he consent or allow the person of the King of

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Aragon to suffer any ill or hurt; and that, as the King of England knew that this seneschal was devoted, body and soul, to the King of Aragon and all his House and had always been so, that, therefore, he had made him seneschal of all the district of Bordeaux, as soon as he knew that the combat was to take place.

And so the seneschal, when the message of the King of Aragon came to him, at once went to tell it to the King of France; and the King commanded him to write to the King of Aragon to come, that the lists were ready and that King Charles was ready. But the seneschal sent to tell him quite the contrary; that, as he valued his life, he should not come; and that God and all the world would hold him excused; and that the King of England had not wished to come, because he saw that he could not assure his safety; so that on no account should he attempt to come. And so the King of France became accustomed to these daily messages, for there was no day on which he did not receive a message. And so he thought that the seneschal was writing to the King of Aragon as he commanded and he was in expectation that he would come.

And whilst all this was going on as arranged, the day of the combat approached. And the Lord King of Aragon called En Bernart de Peratallada, who was the son of the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles, and took him into a chamber together with En Domingo de la Figuera and disclosed the matter to him and commanded him to keep it secret; and this he promised, like En Domingo. And he commanded them to be ready that night to depart after midnight, and commanded the Master of the Horse to have the three horses apparelled and saddled with the saddles of En Domingo de la Figuera, and to put the saddle-bags on the first.

And as he had commanded so all was got ready, and no man knew anything of it except those three and the

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Master of the Horse; for the Lord King knew full well that no one would consent that he put himself in such great venture. But he was of such high courage and so loyal that, not for all the world, would he have remained behind and not be in the lists on the day that had been fixed. And so, therefore, he did not wish that any man should know anything of it, so that even his eldest son, the Infante En Alfonso, who was with him, knew nothing.

Shall I give you much news of it? When midnight had struck they rose and the Master of the Horse had the three best horses that were there got ready, and the Lord King mounted one and carried in front of him the coat of mail of En Domingo de la Figuera, and a hunting spear in his hand, and underneath he was armed with good epaulieres and a strong camisol; and a linen smock dyed green covered all; and then he put on a much-worn and old coat of mail and a capero and a cerveliere,[1] with a linen coif over it. And En Bernart de Peratallada was armed in the same manner and carried the bag, namely a wallet which did not weigh much, and a hunting-spear in his hand. And En Domingo de la Figuera rode like a well-arrayed lord, as he was accustomed to ride, with his saddle-cloth and with his sun-hat and his gloves, all well ordained. And En Bernart carried a great shepherd's bag in which there were altogether six big loaves, which they would eat by day, and they would drink water where no one would see them. And so, with the grace of God, they departed from Jaca. And assuredly, they went in such manner, that they made three days' marches between night and day and what they took from the following night. They always arrived at an inn at the hour of prime,[2] and they did not dismount by day in any village, except in order to drink; for, the bread they ate walking

[1] "Cerveliere, a skull-cap in the form of the coif de mailles was invented by Michael Scott, astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II." —T. D. Fosbrook, *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*.

[2] 7 a.m.

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or riding. And when they were at the end of the first journey they found the three horses. And, at once, En Domingo de la Figuera with his retinue went to the hostel where the horses were, and the men with the horses rejoiced greatly and asked why they had come so late at night. And he told them it was in order that the horses should not suffer from the heat.

And whilst he was with these of his retinue the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada made ready the meal. And when he thought that they might have got it ready, he returned to the hostel, where the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada were; and he made the others remain where they were, saying he would see them in the morning. And when he came to his hostel, he found the table laid and the Lord King gave him water to wash his hands and En Bernart de Peratallada looked after the horses. And so when En Domingo had his hand bowl and the Lord King had carved before him, En Bernart de Peratallada came, and he and the Lord King eat together at another table, and so they all eat, and do not imagine that they gossiped, for each was busy carrying the sauce to the mouth, and as soon as they had eaten, they went to lie down and they slept until the hour of matins. And at the hour of matins they rose, and En Domingo de la Figuera took the three horses to the inn of the others and had their saddles removed and put on the other three, who were rested, and ordered his men to feed them well. And so they proceeded to ride on; and they did every day as they had done on the first day's journey.

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CHAPTER XC.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon entered the lists at Bordeaux and rode all over them on the day fixed for the combat; and how he had letters written to say he had appeared in person; and how he searched the lists and found no one.

And so they went so long that they came to half a league from Bordeaux at the time of the evening bell. And they went to the tower belonging to an old and worthy knight, who was a great friend of the said En Domingo de la Figuera; and there they were well received. And when they had had supper they went to lie down and in the morning, at dawn, they rose and mounted their horses and went towards the lists. And the day was the day fixed for the combat.

And at once they sent the host to En Gilabert de Cruilles, who was lodged at an inn outside the city, which was nearer the lists than any other there was in the city. And they told him to say that En Domingo de la Figuera and a knight of the King of Aragon had arrived, and had spent the night with him; and that he should come at once, alone, without another man, to speak with them. And the host went at once to En Gilabert, who was up already, and told him the message. And En Gilabert, who knew that it was the day on which the Kings were to be in the lists, was full of apprehension and feared what he would see, because he knew the high courage and the great loyalty of the Lord King of Aragon. And at once he rode with only the host, without calling anyone else. And when he was with them and saw the Lord King and his son,[1] he changed colour; but he was so wise that he let nothing appear of his surprise, because of the host And the Lord King took him aside and En Bernart de

[1] Peratallada was the son of de Cruilles.

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Peratallada and En Domingo de la Figuera remained with the host. And En Gilabert said, when they were apart: "Ah, Lord, what is this you have done, and how could you put yourself into so great a hazard?" "En Gilabert," said the Lord King, "I wish you to know that, even were I certain I have to lose my life here, I should not have refrained from coming for any reason whatever, and so do not let us make long speech about it. You have sent to tell me that I can trust the seneschal and, therefore, go to him and tell him that a knight of the King of Aragon is here who wishes to speak with him, and that he should bring with him a notary and six knights who are his men, and no more, and that he should come at once." And En Gilabert went at once to the seneschal and told him what the Lord King of Aragon had commanded him to say. And the seneschal went to the King of France and said to him: "Lord, a knight has come from the King of Aragon and wishes to speak with me, and with your leave, I wish to go to him, if it is your pleasure." And the King of France answered that he was accustomed to such summons being made every day, and said: "Go, and good luck be with you and, when you have spoken with him, let Us know what he said." "Lord," said he, "I shall do so." And the seneschal went at once with the notary, the best and oldest there was at the court of the King of England, and with the six most honourable knights he had in his company. And when they came to the lists they found the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada and En Domingo de la Figuera in the lists; and the seneschal and those who were with him entered within the lists, and also the host who was with the King and En Gilabert who was with the seneschal.

And when the seneschal entered the lists, the Lord King went to meet him and his companions and greeted him in the name of the Lord King, and he courteously

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returned the greetings; and the King said to him: "Seneschal, I have appeared here before you for the Lord King of Aragon, because to-day is the day on which he and King Charles have sworn and promised to be in the lists—this very day. And so I ask you if you can assure the safety of the lists to the Lord King of Aragon, if he comes to these lists this day." And he said: "Lord, I answer you briefly, in the name of my Lord the King of England and in mine, that I cannot assure his safety; rather, in the name of God and of the King of England, we hold him excused; and we declare him fair and loyal and absolved of his oath, for we could not in any way assure his safety. Rather, we know for certain that, if he came here, nothing could save him, nor those who should come with him, for all would die. Behold here the King of France and King Charles, who are here with twelve thousand armed horsemen. And so you can understand that neither my Lord the King of England, nor I for him, could assure his safety." "Then," said the Lord King, "be pleased, Seneschal, to have letters made of this and command your clerk to write them." Said the seneschal: "I am content." And so he commanded it.

And at once the notary wrote all the seneschal had said. And when he came to ask the King what his name was, the King said: "Seneschal, you assure my safety and that of those who are with me?" "Assuredly, Lord, yes," said he, "upon the troth of the King of England." And then the Lord King threw back his hood and said: "Seneschal, do you know me?" And then the seneschal looked at him and knew that it was the King of Aragon; and he was about to dismount, but the Lord King would not suffer it, but rather made him keep his seat. And then he gave him his hand to kiss. And the seneschal said: "Lord, what is this you have done?" "I," said he, "have come here to fulfil my

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oath, and I wish the notary to write down at length all that you have said and that I have said, and how I have appeared in person and have searched the lists." And then he urged on his horse and rode all round the lists and down the middle, in the presence of the seneschal and of those who were there. And meanwhile the notary was writing. And whilst he was writing truthfully all pertaining to the event, and in justification of the Lord King, the said Lord King did not cease to ride round the lists, so that he went all over them, with his hunting spear in his hand, and all said: "Ah, God, what a knight have we here; never was knight born who could be compared to him."

And when he had searched the lists many times whilst the notary was writing, he went to the chapel and dismounted and held the reins in his hands, and prayed to God and said the orisons that were suitable for him to say. And he praised and blessed God who had brought him hither on this journey to fulfil his oath. And when he had finished his prayer he returned to the seneschal and the rest of the company; and the notary had written all he had to write and read it in the presence of the Lord King and of the seneschal and of the others and had it attested by his witnesses. And the Lord King said three times to the seneschal that, if he could assure his safety, he would remain for the combat. But he answered that he could not. And all this was set down in writing; how he, boldly, on his horse, his hunting-spear in his hand, had searched three times the whole of the lists, around and down the middle and across, and had gone to the chapel to pray. And when all this had been set down in a public document, the Lord King requested the seneschal to order the notary to make, of this account, two documents divided by A.B.C.: "One to remain with you, and the other to be given by you to En Gilabert de Cruilles for Us." "Lord," said the

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seneschal, "this I shall command the notary to do. And as I command, so it will be done."

And this done, the Lord King took the seneschal by the hand and started on his way and went where they had lain that night. And when they came before the tower, said the Lord King to the seneschal: "This knight has treated Us with great honour and given Us much entertainment in his house, wherefore I pray you that, for Our honour, the King of England and you make him such a gift that it will increase his importance and that of his family." "Lord," said the seneschal, "this shall be done." And the knight ran to kiss the hand of the Lord King. And when he had said this, the Lord King said to the seneschal: "Await Us, for I will dismount here to take leave of the lady who has received Us so well here last night." "Lord," said the seneschal, "do what pleases you, which is well worthy of your courtesy." And so the Lord King dismounted and took leave of the lady. And when the lady knew that he was the King of Aragon, she fell at his feet and gave thanks to God and to him for the honour he had done her.

And so he took leave and mounted and, with the seneschal, he started on his way and went speaking to him all the time for the distance of full a league and gave him thanks for the good disposition he had found in him. And the seneschal said to En Domingo de la Figuera: "En Domingo," said he, "you know the roads; I advise you not on any account to return the way you came, neither through Navarre, for I know that the King of France has written to all parts that, from this day onwards, every man be taken who belongs to the King of Aragon, whether he be going or coming." Said En Domingo de la Figuera: "Lord, you say well, and if it pleases God we will give good heed to what you say." And then they took leave of each other; and the Lord

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King, with the grace of God, went and took the road of Castile.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and shall speak again of the seneschal, and of the King of France and King Charles.

CHAPTER XCI.

How the seneschal of Bordeaux went to tell the King of France and King Charles how the King of Aragon had been in the lists at Bordeaux; and of the great fear which seized the said Kings and how they were full of apprehension.

When the seneschal had departed from the King of Aragon, the others who were with him accompanied En Gilabert de Cruilles to his inn; and then the seneschal with the rest of the company, as they were, went to the King of France and to King Charles and told them all that had happened, and how the King of Aragon had entered the lists and whilst the clerk was writing, had ridden his horse over the whole of the lists, around, and down the middle, and all parts, and how he had dismounted to pray in the chapel; in fine all he had done and said.

And, when the Kings heard this, they crossed themselves more than a hundred times and, at once, the King of France said: "It is needful for us all to be on the watch at night, and that the horses have their armour on, and that a thousand armed horse keep guard at night and that all be on the look out; for, assuredly, you will see that he will attack us to-night. You do not know him as well as I do; he is the most accomplished knight in the world and of the highest courage there is in the world to-day. And you may imagine what he is, when he has

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attempted so great a thing. And so, Seneschal, ordain the watch of your followers, and We shall have Ours ordained of the best. And the seneschal answered: "Lord, everything shall be done that you command." Said the King of France to King Charles: "Let us go and see the lists and we shall see the footprints of his horse's hoofs, if, indeed, that can be true which the seneschal said." And King Charles said: "I am content to do it, and I tell you that this has been a marvellous thing, and the boldest deed of chivalry any knight ever performed, whether of one alone or of several together, thus to enter the lists; wherefore everyone may very well doubt it." Said the seneschal: "Lords, do not doubt what I tell you; you see here the clerk who has put it in writing, and these six knights who are witnesses, who have known him for a long time. And see here the knight who was his host in the night. And he showed the greatest valour and courtesy I have seen in a lord, for he went to take leave of the lady, wife of the knight, and he went there and went up to the chambers, as if he were in the safest place in the world. And all this all these knights have seen." "Truly," said the King of France, "here was great valour and great boldness and great courtesy." And they mounted and went to the lists and saw the nail-marks of the horseshoes, and the proof of all the seneschal had told them. What shall I tell you? The renown of it spread through the host and through all the country and, that night, you might see fires, and every man armed and the horses with their armour on, for that night no man in the host slept.

And on the following day they struck the tents and the two Kings went away together and came as far as Toulouse, where they found the cardinal, called Panberto (who was the Pope's legate), the eldest son of the King of France, and monsenyer Charles, his brother; and

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they made a great feast for their father and for King Charles as well. And when the King of France and King Charles had recounted to the cardinal what the Lord King of Aragon had done, he marvelled and crossed himself more than a hundred times. "Ah, God," said he, "how great a sin did the Pope commit, and we all, when we denied that Lord help; for this is another Alexander born in the world."

Now I shall cease to speak of the King of France and of King Charles and of the cardinal, and I shall turn to speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER XCII.

How the Lord King of Aragon returned amongst his people through the territory of the King of Castile; and of the great joy all his subjects had and especially my Lady the Queen and her children.

WHEN the Lord King of Aragon had taken leave of the seneschal and of the others he started on his way, that which En Domingo de la Figuera showed them, and they went along the boundary of Navarre, that is, always on the territory of the King of Castile; and he led them by the way where he knew they would find the horses. And, as they had done in going, so they did returning. So they came to the town of Soria, and to Seron de Seron, and then to Moanquelo, which is the last place in Castile, at the entrance to Aragon. And from there they came to Verdejo, and there the Lord King was recognized, and they made him a great feast and rejoicings and entertained him well for two days. And all in the surrounding country knew it and every man of that district attended him on horseback and afoot to accompany him, and thus well accompanied he came to Catalonia;

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and if in any place a great feast had been made for the Lord King, there was it made.

And the Lord King sent his runners into all parts and he, in particular, commanded the Lord Infante and all the chiefs of Catalonia and Aragon and the hundred and fifty knights of the combat to be at Saragossa on the tenth day after receipt of the letters, for he would be at Saragossa, where he would hold Cortes; and this he sent to say throughout all Aragon. And if joy and feasting were ever seen, it was at Jaca, as made by the Lord Infante and by all who were there. And they made a great procession in which all the prelates of Catalonia and Aragon were present, and praised and blessed God for the great favour he had done them in the person of their lord, whom He had saved from great peril and who had returned with great honour; what he had done would redound to the honour of the House of Aragon for ever. And when this feast had been made, every man went where he pleased, but so as to be at Saragossa on the day fixed. And the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the greater part of the richs homens, knights and prelates went towards Catalonia, to the Lord King. And so also do not ask me about the rejoicing my Lady the Queen and the Infantes made, and all they of Saragossa, when they knew that the King and his retinue were at Jaca; for in Saragossa and in all the territory they had been in great fear, for they did not know where the Lord King was, nor could find any sign of him until he came himself; therefore it is not to be wondered if they were very anxious.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon, and shall turn to speak again of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

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CHAPTER XCIII.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria ordered his brother-in-law, Manfredo Lansa, to besiege the castle of Malta; and how the said admiral took Lipari.

AND when the admiral had won the battle, and the feast in Messina was over, as you have heard already, he prepared to fit out thirty galleys, for he had news that, at Naples, all the galleys that were there were being equipped, and so he wished to be prepared and he fitted out the thirty galleys. And when they were fitted out, he had news from Naples that those galleys would not sally out yet for a whole month; that there would go, on board of them, of counts and other banner lords, more than fourteen, with chivalry who would bring their horses in cross-rigged barges and in the galleys. And so he judged rightly that it was not necessary that that month should be wasted. And he called his brother-in-law, En Manfredo Lansa, and told him to go on board the galleys, and a hundred knights with him and a thousand almugavars and a hundred seamen; and that all should join him with their tents and bring four catapults, and that they should go to the castle of Malta and hold it besieged until they took it.

And as he ordained so it was done, and they went on board the galleys and went to the castle of Malta, and there they laid their siege and the catapults began to shoot. And when the admiral had set them on shore he ordained that they of the city of Malta and of the island should bring all kinds of goods for sale to the besiegers, and they of Gozo likewise. And all did this willingly, for they were in great fear that the castle would plunder them. And so when the admiral had planned all for them and had left, as chief, En Manfredo Lansa, who was a very wise and accomplished knight,

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he prepared to leave them, and he left two armed lenys and two armed barges with them in order that, should they want anything, they should at once send to tell him. And he set his course for Trapani and comforted and visited all the inner coast[1] until he came to Lipari. And at Lipari he made his followers land and commanded them to attack the town and, at last, they of Lipari, who saw so great a power and that the admiral wanted to sack the town, surrendered to the Lord King of Aragon and to the admiral for him. And the admiral entered within with all his followers and received the oath and homage of all, and refreshed all his followers and he chose two armed lenys, which he sent to get news, and each went its own way. And, besides he sent two armed barges manned by men of Lipari who also went to get news of the fleet of Naples.

And so I must cease to speak to you of him now and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Recounts how Cortes were held at Saragossa and at Barcelona, in which it was ratified that the Lord King of Aragon should send my Lady the Queen and their children to Sicily; and how he gave great gifts to the hundred and fifty knights who were to have been with him in the combat.

WHEN the Lord Infante En Alfonso and richs homens and knights and prelates were with the Lord King in

[1] Lanz translates "Küste," Buchon "la contrée intérieure," Bofarull "el interior." From the several mentions of the "fasana de dintre" and the "fasana de fora," it seems more likely that the "fasana de fora" was the coast facing the open sea, and the "fasana de dintre" the coast of the inner sea. In the above case the coast from Trapani to opposite the Lipari Islands was not the coast of the Mediterranean, but of the Thyrrhenian Sea.

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Catalonia they had great pleasure in being together. And En Domingo de la Figuera and En Bernart de Peratallada recounted all that had happened to them, which all considered to be a great thing and praised God who had delivered them. And so the Lord King, together with all of them, came to Saragossa. And the feast my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and all the people made was very great. It lasted four days during which no man did any work.

And when the feast was over he commanded that, the second day after, every man be ready; and on that day En Gilabert de Cruilles came from Bordeaux and brought all the letters that had been written in the lists, stamped with the seal of the seneschal. And the Lord King and everyone had great pleasure thereat. And En Gilabert recounted to them what the King of France and King Charles had done when they knew the King of Aragon had been there, and how they watched through the night, and how they left next day. And the Lord King and all the others laughed much at it. And on the day the Lord King had ordained every man was ready and when all were ready the Lord King preached to them and said many good words to them; he recounted to them all that had happened to him since he had left Port Fangós. He told them how he had come to the combat, and how the others had failed him, and that he gave many thanks to all those who were to have entered the lists with him for having come so willingly. And then he told them how he intended to send the Queen and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique with her to Sicily, for two reasons; the first, because all the people of Sicily would have great joy thereat and would be all the more steadfast; the other, that he believed it would please the Queen. And so he prayed them to advise him in this. Besides, he had heard that the Pope had given a sentence of

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interdict and of a crusade against him, and that the King of France had promised aid to King Charles, at which he had wondered much: "for there are such strong covenants between him and Us that We could not at all imagine that it could be; wherefore We ask you likewise for counsel on these matters." And so the Lord King ceased to speak. And the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and answered all the Lord King had said and gave praise and thanks to God who had delivered him from so many perils, and so likewise he answered in the matter of my Lady the Queen, that he thought well of what the Lord King had said about it; that she should go to Sicily with the Infantes; and he gave many good reasons why it should be done. "And again, in the matter of the Pope and of the King of France I think it well that you appoint wise and honourable messengers and send them to the Holy Apostolic Father and to all the cardinals; and other messengers to the King of France, and that you command them all to say in your name what you shall have decided in your council." And when the Archbishop had spoken fully, richs homens of Aragon and Catalonia rose and other prelates and knights and citizens and syndics of the towns and villages, and all approved what the Archbishop had said, and ratified it.

And upon this the court separated with great joy and concord; and the Lord King gave great gifts to all the hundred and fifty richs homens and knights who had come to Jaca to take part in the combat, and he made good to them all they had spent, as well on horses as on arms and on rations in coming and going to and from their places. So everyone went away joyously and pleased with the King; and so they should be, for there never was a lord who ruled his vassals so well as he did all his, each according to his merit. So, also, En Domingo de la Figuera had the twenty-seven horses returned to the

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Master of the Horse of the Lord King; and these and others, over two hundred, the Lord King gave to the other richs homens and knights who had come from Catalonia and Aragon and from the Kingdom of Valencia in his honour and who had not had notice to enter the lists. What shall I tell you? No man of merit came to Jaca on whom the Lord King did not bestow gift and favour; but greatest were the gifts to the hundred and fifty knights. And so all departed, joyful and pleased with the Lord King, and each returned to his home. And the Lord King remained in Saragossa with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes for eight days longer and settled with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes that they should go together to Barcelona, "except the Infante En Alfonso who will go with Us and there embark." Of which thing my Lady the Queen had, on the one hand, great joy and, on the other, she was displeased, for she would have to leave the Lord King. But the Lord King promised her that he would go to Sicily as soon as he could, and with this he comforted her.

And so the Lord King went to Barcelona and the Lord Infante with him, and they went by Lérida and in every place the feast they made for him was great. The feast in Barcelona in particular was the greatest that had ever been made, for it lasted altogether eight days, and nothing was attended to but games and balls. And the Lord King, as soon as he came to Barcelona, sent messengers to all the barons and knights and citizens of Catalonia that, fifteen days after receipt of the letter, they should be at Barcelona. And so it was done, as he commanded. And when the Lord King of Mallorca, his brother, knew that he was at Barcelona, he came to see him and the feast was very great that the two brothers made for each other.

And on the day for which the Cortes were summoned the Lord King made all the people and the court generally

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collect in the royal palace of Barcelona and said all that he had said at the Cortes of Saragossa, not more and not less; and so it was ratified. And in the same way the Lord King bestowed great gifts and great favours on richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen, and so they all departed, joyous and content. And the Lord King, with his council, appointed very honourable and wise messengers whom he sent to the Pope; and so, likewise, he appointed others whom he sent to the King of France. And when they were chosen he had money given them, amply sufficient for all their expenses, and he sent them off with the clauses and all they had to take with them, and they took leave of the Lord King and went in due time.

CHAPTER XCV.

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes En Jaime and Fadrique took leave of the Lord King of Aragon, and the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Pedro of my Lady the Queen; and how the King of Mallorca and richs homens conducted my Lady the Queen to the sea leading her horse by the bridle.

And when the Lord King had dispatched his messengers, he summoned En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and told them to fit out the ship of En P. Desvilar, called La Bonaventura, and another ship of the largest in Barcelona after that one; and to cover them with hides and to put into each two hundred fighting men, the best that were in Barcelona; and put in buçons[1]

[1] Lanz takes "buçons" to mean "bushes" like the same word in Provençals and "buissons" in French. Buchon translates: "de la farine." This seems unlikely to be the meaning in a passage which enumerates no victuals, but only engines of war and what is connected with the ship itself. Bofarull identifies the word with "brúxula," of which Capmany says: "The word 'brúxula' or 'búxula' comes from the old Italian word 'bóssola,' which means 'box' . . . . the box in which the magnetic needle was kept." 'Buzon' is the Spanish name of a kind of battering ram.

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and anchors, and arganels[1] and movable castles, and to cover them with hides, and to prepare gabions and cover them with hides, and to put in all that is wanted for armed ships; and to fit out four galleys and two lenys and two barges, and to sail all together under convoy, for he wished to send my Lady the Queen to Sicily and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante Fadrique with her; and he wished to send a hundred knights with her, besides those of her household; and also, besides the mariners, five hundred well equipped cross-bowmen, and five hundred retainers, in order that the ships and the galleys be well fitted out and that they reinforce the island of Sicily. And what he commanded, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol carried out fully and, assuredly, as it was to their advantage, they stinted nothing, and especially as the Lord King gave them the charge of going there as commanders.

And when all was fitted out and apparelled as the Lord King had commanded, my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had arrived and a great feast was made for them. And the Lord King commanded that, with the grace of God, they should embark and, at once, everyone went on board. And when all were embarked, my Lady the Queen took leave of the Lord King in his chamber; and everyone can imagine what the parting between them was, for there never was so great a love between husband and wife as there was between them, and always had been. And when my Lady the Queen had taken leave of the Lord King, both Infantes entered the chamber of the Lord King and threw themselves at his feet. And the Lord King made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them many times and gave them his grace and his blessing, and he kissed them on the mouth and spoke many good words, and especially to the Lord

[1] Astrolabes? 'Arganel' is the Spanish name of a small ring in an astrolabe.

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Infante En Jaime who was the eldest, who always was and still is full seven years older than the Infante En Fadrique, and was already of good judgment and very wise and learned in all worthy things. One can say of him the proverb of Catalonia, that the thorn which has to prick is pointed from the beginning. And so he showed full well in his youth that he would be wise. If he is thought to be so, full well has he shown it and shows it every day; for no wiser prince was ever born, nor one better nurtured, or more courteous, or more accomplished in arms and all matters as he has been, and is still and will be for many years, if it pleases God to give him long life. And so the Lord Infante En Jaime understood well and put into practice the good words that the Lord, his father, said to him. And so also the Infante En Fadrique, according to his understanding, remembered what the Lord King said to him, and one can say of him also what I have said of the Lord Infante En Jaime. Each of them is so worthy before God and before the world and before their people and their subjects that, throughout the world, none more worthy could be named or found. And so, when the Lord King had given them his grace and his blessing, he kissed them again on the mouth, and they kissed his feet and his hands and left the chamber, and the Lord King remained quite alone full four hours of the day and did not wish anyone to come in. And likewise, what the Lord King had done, my Lady the Queen did in another chamber with the Lord Infante En Alfonso and with the Lord Infante En Pedro, and made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them many times, and gave them her grace and her blessing and kissed them on the mouth many times. And they inclined themselves and kissed her feet and her hands. And they took heed of the many good words and admonitions she gave them.

And when this was done the Lord King of Mallorca,

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and counts and barons and prelates and knights and citizens issued forth, and my Lady the Queen told them to go to the cathedral, for she wished to beg for them the favour of my Lady Saint Eulalia and of Saint Olegario; and so they entered the cathedral and went to the altar of Saint Eulalia and Saint Olegario. Then the Archbishop of Tarragona, with eight bishops and others who were there, said many orisons over my Lady the Queen and all the Infantes. And when all this was done and my Lady the Queen had completed her orisons, the mounts were all got ready, and they went to the sea. And the Lord King of Mallorca, on horseback, led the Queen's horse by the bridle, and it was also thus led by the count of Ampurias, by viscount Rocaberti and En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, on foot, and by other richs homens of Catalonia and Aragon, more than fifty, who were on foot around her, as well as by the consuls of Barcelona and many other citizens. And then followed all the people, as well men as ladies and damsels and children, who were all weeping and praying to God to guard my Lady the Queen and the Infantes in all difficulties and to carry them to Sicily, safe and in good health. What shall I tell you? He was very hard-hearted who did not weep on this occasion. And so, when they came to the sea, the Lord King of Mallorca dismounted and lifted my Lady the Queen from her horse and then put her and, with her, the Infantes into a beautiful skiff of the ship which had been sent for her. And at the leave-taking of the two Infantes who were going away from the two who remained, you would have seen a piteous sight, for no one could separate them, until the Lord King of Mallorca descended from the skiff and separated them still weeping, and put the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique into the skiff with my Lady the Queen. And as soon as he had placed

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them there he and the count of Ampurias and En Dalmau de Rocaberti and En R. Folch, viscount Cardona, went on board the skiff and, at once, they commanded the crew to row. And so they began to row and my Lady the Queen turned round and made the sign of the Cross and blessed her sons and then all the people and also all the country. And the mariners rowed and they went to the biggest ship, called the Bonaventura. And when my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had left the shore, the ladies and damsels were made to embark in other skiffs that had been apparelled, and richs homens and knights with them to do them honour and to accompany them. And, with the grace of God, they all went on board the ship, and the Lord King of Mallorca and the count of Ampurias and viscount Rocaberti and viscount Cardona with them. And then the ladies and damsels who were going with the Queen went on board. And En Ramon Marquet distributed all the rest of the retinue in the other ships and galleys.

And when all had embarked, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol came to the Lord King of Mallorca and kissed his hand and said to him: "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and give us your blessing, and land, and let us go with the grace of God." With that the Lord King of Mallorca took leave, weeping, of my Lady the Queen and then of the Infantes; he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them, and, weeping, gave them his blessing very lovingly, and the count and the viscount, too, were weeping. And when they had taken leave they issued out of the ship, and the ship was on the point of sailing and the boys were on the yards, and the steersman ready to salute; and when he had saluted, he gave the order to set sail and at once the ship sailed away and then all the other vessels. And when the ship had sailed you might have heard shouts on the shore; all shouted:

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"Good luck go with thee! Good luck go with thee!" All the world seemed to respond.

And when they had sailed, the Lord King of Mallorca landed, the barons and richs homens mounted and went to the palace where they found the Lord King was still in the chamber with the two Infantes who remained with him, namely the Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Pedro. And when the Lord King knew that the Lord King of Mallorca and the counts and the barons had come, he went out of the chamber and the trumpets sounded and they went to dinner. And all endeavoured to make entertainment and diversion to cheer the Lord King and the Infantes. And when they had dined, they left the table and remained in the other saloon where came juglars[1] of diverse sorts who cheered them. What shall I tell you? That day they spent thus. And I must cease to speak to you of him and must speak to you again of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and of their fleet.

CHAPTER XCVI.

Recounts the good voyage my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes made; and how all the fleet was guided by the hand of God.

WHEN the galleys and the ships and the lenys had sailed, that Lord Who guided the three Kings and sent

[1] "We wish and command that at Our Court be four juglars of whom two be trompadors and the third a tabaler [player of the kettle-drum] and the fourth a trumpeter whose office it be whenever We dine in public to sound the trumpets at the beginning and the tabaler and he of the trumpet to exercise their office together with the trompadors; and they again do the same at the end of Our dinner; and if then there be stranger juglars or of Our own who play other instruments, these We wish to hear at the end of Our dinner." The Ordinances Of The King Don Pedro The Ceremonious For The Governance Of All The Offices Of His Court. Capitulo Dels Juglars.

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them the star by which they directed themselves, also sent to these three persons the star of His grace, namely, to my Lady the Queen and to the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique. And so they are three persons whom you may compare to the three kings who went to worship Our Lord, of whom one was called Balthasar, the other Melchior, and the other Gaspard. And to Balthasar, who was the most pious man ever born and the most pleasing to God and to the world, you may compare my Lady the Queen, for never had a more pious lady been born, nor a more virtuous, nor a more gracious than my Lady the Queen. And the Lord Infante En Jaime you may compare to Melchior, who was indeed the most upright man for justice and courtesy ever born. And so the Lord Infante En Jaime can be compared to him, for he has all these qualities. And the Infante Fadrique you can compare to Gaspard, who was young and still a child, and the most beautiful boy in the world and wise and upright.

Therefore, as God wished to guide those three Kings, so He guided these three persons and all those who went with them; and now, at once, in place of the star, He gave them a favourable wind, as favourable as they could ask for, and He did not forsake them until they came safe and in good health to the harbour of Palermo.

CHAPTER XCVII.

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes arrived in the harbour of Palermo and of the great honours rendered them.

AND when they of Palermo knew that my Lady the Queen was there, and the two Infantes, if the joy was great I shall not tell you, nor need I, for they and all of the island had thought themselves almost forsaken,

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and now they thought themselves safe. And at once they sent runners throughout all Sicily and all they of Palermo, men, women and children, went to Saint George's where the Queen and the Infantes landed. And when my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went on shore she, as she set foot on land, crossed herself and lifted her eyes to Heaven and, weeping, kissed the ground; then she went to the church of Saint George, and there she and the Infantes prayed. And meanwhile all Palermo issued forth and over five hundred riding-beasts were brought; and to my Lady the Queen they brought a white palfrey, gentle and beautiful, and they put the saddle of my Lady the Queen on it. And at once they brought from the galleys, in barges, two palfreys which were there, and two others for the Infantes with very rich harness; and then they brought three mules and three very beautiful palfreys belonging to my Lady the Queen, which were there; and then full twenty others, what between palfreys and mules of the ladies and damsels who came with my Lady the Queen, each with its fine harness. And then they brought, from the galleys and from the ship in which my Lady the Queen had not come, full fifty beautiful and valuable Spanish horses which belonged to the knights who had come with my Lady the Queen and with the Infantes. And when all was on shore, the barons and the knights and the honourable men of Palermo and ladies and damsels and children came to my Lady the Queen, to kiss her feet and her hands. And those who could not get near the Queen kissed the ground and all cried: "Welcome, my Lady Queen and the Lords Infantes." And the joy was so great, and the noise of the trumpets and cymbals and all the other instruments, that it seemed as if heaven and earth were crumbling. And so my Lady the Queen mounted, and the Lord Infante En Jaime, on horseback, led her horse by the bridle and Micer Aleynep and Micer

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Juan de Calatagiro, and Micer Mateo de Termini and many other richs homens on foot, also led her horse. And then all the people of Palermo went singing and dancing before them, and praising and glorifying God Who had brought them hither. And the Infante En Fadrique rode also, on the other side of my Lady the Queen, and then all the ladies and damsels who came with her, and knights and all those of her household. That is, no one rode except my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and those who had come with her; all the others went on foot.

And so, amidst this rejoicing, they went to the royal palace and, before they came to it, my Lady the Queen wished to go to the cathedral of the archbishopric and do reverence there to Our Lady Saint Mary, and so she did, And when they came to the door of the church, my Lady the Queen commanded that no one should dismount. except she herself and the Infantes and two ladies; and they entered within and went to the altar of Our Lady Saint Mary and there made their orisons, and then rode on and amidst the same rejoicings went to the palace. And when they had dismounted, my Lady the Queen entered the chapel of the palace, which is of the richest of the world, and there, also, she and the Infantes made their orisons and then went up to the chambers and adjusted and apparelled themselves. And the trumpets were sounded and they went to dinner. And they sent so much refreshment to the ships and galleys that it sufficed them for more than eight days. What shall I tell you? The feast lasted more than eight days, when no one did anything but dance and amuse himself, and the same was done throughout all Sicily.

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CHAPTER XCVIII.

How Ramon Marquet and Berenguer Mallol sent to tell the Lord King En Pedro that my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had arrived at Palermo safe and in good health.

AND as soon as they had landed and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had been received with this feast and had gone to the palace, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent two armed lenys to Catalonia, each separately, with letters in which they made known the day they had landed in Palermo and how they were received and what weather they had had and how they were all well and cheerful. And the two lenys departed from Palermo and went to Catalonia safely and landed in Catalonia, namely at Barcelona, where they found the Lord King En Pedro who had promised that he would not depart until he had news of them. And so the lenys came to Barcelona and gave the letters to the Lord King, and when he had read them and they of the lenys had recounted to him how they had gone safe and in good health, and told him the honour shown to them, the Lord King had a procession made and thanks given to Our Lord the true God for the grace He had done them.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and must turn to speak to you again of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes.

CHAPTER XCIX.

How my Lady the Queen decided to hold Cortes at Palermo and how micer Juan de Procida spoke in the said Cortes in the name of my Lady the Queen and her children; and how they accepted her as their Queen and natural Sovereign.

WHEN the feast at Palermo had lasted full eight days and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had well

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recovered from the fatigue of the sea, my Lady the Queen held council with micer Juan de Procida,[1] who had come with her and who was one of the wisest men of the world, and with En Conrado Lansa, who had also come with her, and with other richs homens and knights who had come with her, and the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique; and she held counsel with them and asked them to advise her what to do. And micer Juan and others advised her to send letters to all the cities and towns of the island, telling them to send syndics and deputies to Palermo. They said: "Tell them to be at Palermo, at the Cortes you wish to hold, ten days after the receipt of your letter, and write the same to the richs homens and knights of Sicily. And when they are ready, then you will tell them what is meet." And my Lady the Queen and the Lord Infante

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[1] "Amongst the many knights exiled by Charles of Anjou was a prominent knight of Salerno called Giovanni di Procida, who besides the confiscation of his great possessions had, so it was said, seen his wife and his daughter insulted by the King. This man, of great understanding, cunning and determination, who had faithfully served the Princes of the House of Swabia, took refuge in Spain, burning with a desire for vengeance against Charles. He was well received by Jaime I and Pedro, on his accession, bestowed on him several towns and castles in Valencia."

". . . . Procida communicated to Pedro his plans for Pedro's accession to the throne of Sicily, which belonged by right to Queen Constanza. The plan flattered the King's ambition and filled the Queen with enthusiasm." Lafuente: *Historia de España*.

Procida's hopes were raised by the election of Pope Nicolas III, one of the greatest opponents of the French domination and of Charles of Anjou personally. The circumstances being favourable, Procida formed a great confederation against Charles which included Pope Nicolas, the Emperor Michael Palæologus, King Pedro and the Sicilians. No difficulties discouraged Procida; in various disguises he made his way to Constantinople, to Sicily, to the residence of the Pope. Negotiations went on from 1277 to 1280, and it was because of these plans that Pedro hastened to suppress the rebellion of the Moors in Valencia, of the Catalan barons, to hold his brother Jaime of Mallorca in subjection and to establish good relations with King Alfonso and Don Sancho of Castile. The death of Nicolas and the election of Martin IV, a Frenchman, reversed the policy of Rome and might well have discouraged men less resolute than Pedro and Procida, but they were undismayed, and Pedro's mysterious preparations were completed. Procida went to Sicily and on the 30th of March 1282 what is known as the Sicilian Vespers inaugurated a revolution which gave the crown of Sicily to Spanish Sovereigns for over four centuries.

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En Jaime thought well of this advice, and so it was done.

And when the appointed day came they all were at Palermo, and on that day they all assembled in Palermo in the Salavert,[1] at the ringing of a bell, and the seats of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and, afterwards, of the richs homens and knights were erected there, and then all others, indiscriminately, sat down on the floor, on which carpets had been spread. And on the previous night my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes had summoned micer Juan de Procida and told him what he should say, and that he should prepare to speak in place of my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and present the letters which the Lord King of Aragon sent to the whole community of Sicily in general, and so likewise those he had sent specially to every rich hom in every place.

And so, when all were assembled, my Lady the Queen rose and said to them: "Barons, micer Juan de Procida will speak to you in Our name, and so listen to what he will tell you and count it as being said by Ourselves." And at once she sat down again. With that, however, micer Juan rose and, as he was one of the wisest men in the world, he said many good words and amongst others he said: "Barons, my Lord King of Aragon sends you many greetings, and he sends you this letter. Order it to be read publicly to all the community of Sicily, and when it is read you will know what he sends to tell you. I, then, in place of my Lady the Queen and of the Lords Infantes, shall have to say to you what is meet to tell you." And at once he gave the letter to micer Mateo

[1] Salavert, the Green Chamber. A 'Green Chamber' is mentioned in several other Chronicles, *e.g.*, Monstrelet, in Chapter LXV of his Chronicle says: "The King of Navarre, being present, entreated the King [Charles VI of France] that he would fix an hour for hearing them again after dinner, and the King, complying with his request, appointed an hour for the rector to return. When the King had dined he entered the chambre verte, attended by the following Princes. . . ."

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de Termini, who took it and raised it to his head and then, very reverently, kissed the seal and opened the letter in the presence of all. And when he had opened it, he read it in such manner that all could hear it well. And the substance of the letter was this: That he gave them his grace, and informed them that he sent them Queen Costanza, his wife and their natural sovereign Lady; and that he commanded and told them to accept her for their Lady and Queen and obey her in everything she commanded. And again, that he sent them the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique, his sons, and that he recommended to them and commanded them that, after the Queen and himself, they look upon and hold the Infante En Jaime as their head and chief and lord in the place of the Queen, his mother, and of himself; and as it is not given to the Queen to be every day and at all hours in council, that, in her place they consider and decide all matters with the Infante En Jaime in council; and that they do nothing without him, unless the Queen, or he for her, give them power to do so; and that they may believe that they will find so much wisdom in the said Infante that they will be well content with him.

And when the letter had been read micer Aleynep rose in the name of all and said: "Lady Queen, you are welcome; and blessed be the hour in which you and the Lords Infantes arrived amongst us; and blessed be the King of Aragon who has sent you for our guard and defence. Wherefore we all pray God Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother and His Blessed Saints to give long life to the Lord King and to you, Lady Queen, and to all your children, and that He take from our days to lengthen yours, and that God preserve you to us and to all your peoples. And you, Lady, we accept now fully from the Lord King, in our name and in the name of those who are not present as our Lady and Queen, to do and to say all

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you command. And we accept the Lords Infantes as those who are to be our lords after the Lord King and, especially, we accept the Infante En Jaime as head and chief and lord, in the place of the Lord King and in yours. And, for greater security, I swear by God and by the Holy Gospels, for myself and for all the community of Sicily, to keep and to do all I have said, and thus all who are in this court will swear for themselves and for the places whose syndics they are." And at once he rose and kissed the hands of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes, and each of the syndics and richs homens, and knights and franklins did the same.

And when this was done the said micer Juan de Procida rose for my Lady the Queen and said: "Barons, my Lady the Queen gives thanks to God and to you for the goodwill you have shown her and promises that she will ever love and honour you, as well in general matters as in particular, and will help you with the Lord King and with her sons in all she will be able and which will be honest and good. And she prays and commands that, henceforth, you look upon the Lord Infante En Jaime as your lord, in the place of the Lord King his father, and in Ours; because, as it is not given to Us to go about the territories, he will have to visit all the places as Lord, and he will have to go to the wars and to all affairs, as well to feats of arms as to other affairs. These Our children are of such descent that they never prize anything as much as to be accomplished in arms. And so have been all their predecessors, and this they will maintain, they and all their issue, if it be God's pleasure. Wherefore it is needful that you should take care of them and guard them, and especially the Infante En Jaime who, from now onwards, will undertake affairs and the wars. The Infante En Fadrique is so small and so young that We do not wish him to leave Us, until he is grown up."

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And micer Aleynep rose and answered my Lady the Queen and the Infantes in the name of all—that all this, if it please God, they would do "as my Lady the Queen commands and in such wise that God and our Lord, the King of Aragon, and you, my Lady the Queen, and the Infantes and all your friends and subjects will have pleasure thereat." And upon this my Lady the Queen made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them all and gave them her grace and her blessing. And so all rose and returned home with great joy and content. And micer Juan gave them the letters for each place and sent them separately to each rich hom.

CHAPTER C.

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went by land to Messina where a parliament was assembled; and how they had news that the noble En Manfredo Lansa had taken the castle of Malta.

AFTER this my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went by land with their retinue, by short journeys to Messina; and in every place so great a feast was made for them that it was marvellous. And so, by short journeys, the five hundred cross-bowmen and the five hundred almugavars came with them by land, with their arms, and all the knights with their arms, and their horses led. All the people were very joyous and made great endeavours to see the beautiful sight. And if at Palermo a great feast had been made for them, that of Messina was much greater, without any comparison; it lasted more than fifteen days, during which no one did any work.

And during these fifteen days came news that the noble En Manfredo Lansa had taken the castle of Malta,

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which was surrendered to him to mercy. And assuredly the feast became still greater because of this, and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had great joy and pleasure; and so they should have, for the castle is right royal and beautiful, and that castle and the island are to the island of Sicily as the stone is to the ring.

And when the feast was over my Lady the Queen assembled a parliament in the city of Messina, of the gentry of the city and of the plain of Milazzo and of the coast as far as Taormina. And when all were assembled micer Juan de Procida spoke many good words for my Lady the Queen and for the Infantes, and gave great comfort and great joy, so that all departed pleased with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes.

CHAPTER CI.

How the Lord King En Pedro, after the Queen and the Infantes had departed decided not to leave Barcelona until he had news of them, which he had shortly.

AFTER my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had sailed from Barcelona, the Lord King of Mallorca and all the richs homens and barons remained with the Lord King of Aragon for eight days. And the eight days over, the Lord King of Mallorca took leave of the Lord King of Aragon and returned to Perpignan, and with him went the count of Ampurias and En Dalmau de Rocaberti, because they are his neighbours. And after they had gone all the richs homens of Catalonia and Aragon went likewise; and the Lord King remained in Barcelona, for he had resolved in his heart not to depart without news of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes; but he did depart, as you have heard already, when he had

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news by two armed lenys. He at once, wrote the news to the Lord King of Mallorca and to all the richs homens of his realm and to the cities and kingdoms, in order that they should make processions and praise God.

CHAPTER CII.

How the Lord King of Aragon and King En Sancho of Castile had interviews in which the Lord King of Aragon wished to hear the intention of King En Sancho; which was to help him against everyone in the world.

AND when the Lord King had had these good news, he went visiting his dominions, and he went to see his nephew the King of Castile,[1] who, when he knew he was in Aragon, had sent to beg him for an interview. And this was done, for they saw each other at Ariza, and there each made a great feast for the other, and the King of Castile, especially, made great rejoicing and entertainment for his uncle.

And when the feast was over, the Lord King of Aragon took him into a chamber and said to him: "Nephew, I believe you have heard how the Church, without any cause has given sentence against Us; and this has come about through the Pope,[2] who is French; and so you may well believe that, because he is of the nation of King Charles, he will grant him every favour and every aid. And you can see this now, for he has condemned Us without summoning Us. And so likewise the King of France, Our brother-in-law, who has great covenants with Us, he also has proffered support to

[1] Sancho IV, 1284—1295.

[2] Martin IV pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Pedro III on the 18th November, 1282 (see Chapter LXXX), and renewed it in 1283, declaring him dethroned. He proclaimed a crusade against him and conferred the Kingdom upon Charles of Valois, second son of Philip III, le Hardi, and nephew of Pedro through his mother.

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King Charles, his uncle. Full well has he demonstrated all his mind, for he came against Us to Bordeaux, to accompany King Charles, with twelve thousand armed horse. I believe for certain that We have now a war with the Church and with France; and so I wish to know from you what is your intention in this." The King of Castile answered: "Uncle, all you have said I know for certain and, amongst other things, it is why I have begged you for this interview; and I hear that you have sent them messengers and I believe full well that these messengers will bring you news of war. And I, Sir Uncle, promise you, by the covenant which is between you and me, which I now here ratify with oath and homage of mouth and hand, that I shall not fail you in person, nor with all Our territory, and that you shall have me for all aid, with all my power, against every man in the world. And so when your messengers have returned, let Us know what they bring you, and if they bring you war We shall prepare for it. It seems that, between you and Us and the King of Mallorca and the King of Portugal, we can defend ourselves against them. Rather, I believe that if we conduct this war vigorously, we shall recover Navarre at once and then the country beyond. And so, Sir Uncle, be comforted and of good cheer and be content." And, assuredly, he spoke the truth; if these four Kings of Spain whom he named, who are of one flesh and blood, held together, little need they fear all the other powers of the world.

And so the Lord King of Aragon who heard the King of Castile, his nephew, speak thus rose and kissed him more than ten times and said to him: "Nephew, I hoped for this from you and I am much pleased and give you many thanks for the good offer you have made to me; and it is my belief that you will carry it out."

And after these words they parted from each other

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and took leave most sweetly, as a father might part from his son. And the King of Castile returned to his realm, and the King of Aragon also returned to his dominions, for he did not wish to do anything until the messengers had returned, whom he had sent to the Pope and to the King of France. And so I must cease to speak to you of the King of Aragon and must turn again to speak to you of the King of France and of King Charles and of the cardinal.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the King of France and King Charles decided to send monsenyer En Carlot, younger son of the King of France, to the Pope with the cardinal in order that he should grant him the Kingdom of Aragon; which Pope Martin, the Frenchman, did.

AFTER the feast was over, which they made at Toulouse for the King of France and for King Charles, the two Kings took counsel with the cardinal and with monsenyer Philip and monsenyer Charles, sons of the King of France, as to what to do. And it was ordained by them that King Charles and the cardinal should go to the Pope and that they should take with them the younger son of the King of France, called Charles, and that the Pope would make a grant to him of the Kingdom of Aragon and that he would place the crown of it upon his head. And so it was done. This grieved monsenyer En Philip, his brother, much for he loved the Lord King of Aragon, his uncle, more than any man in the world after his father. But monsenyer Charles at no time showed any love for the House of Aragon. And so the King of France went to Paris and King Charles and the Cardinal with monsenyer Carlot,[1] whom they took with them, went

[1] This is the French diminutive turned into Catalan, but without a Catalan determination which would be 'et' Carlet.—Bofarull.

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to Rome, to the Pope. And when they were there the Pope granted him the Kingdom of Aragon and set the crown of it upon his head with a great feast and great courts that assembled there. And we might quote the saying of Catalonia, when someone says: "Would such a place was ours." The other answers: "It seems to cost you little." And that one can say of the Pope, for it seemed that the Kingdom of Aragon cost him little, as he made such a good profit out of it. And assuredly this grant was the worst ever made to the injury of many Christians.

And when this was done, monsenyer Charles went to France, and his father and the cardinal accompanied him and at their arrival the King of France made a great feast; but not so monsenyer Philip who said: "What is this, Brother? They say you have yourself called King of Aragon?" And he said it was the truth and that he was King of Aragon. And he answered him: "Forsooth, my fair Brother, you are King of your hat, for of the Kingdom of Aragon, you will never have an inch. Our uncle, the King of Aragon, is King and Lord of it, and he is more worthy to be King of it than you, and will defend it against you in such manner that you will see full well that you have been invested with empty air." For these words the two brothers had many disputes and it would have gone on to worse, had it not been for their father, the King of France, who separated them.

And when the feast was over, the cardinal said to the King of France, in the name of the Pope, to prepare to march in person against the King of Aragon, and to put his son, who had been crowned King, in possession of all his country. And the King of France said: "Cardinal, arrange to have money sent to Us and have the crusade proclaimed everywhere and leave it to Us to fulfil the rest. We will provide Ourselves with men

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for the sea and the land, and will have forty galleys made, and will arrange all We require for the journey. And We promise you, on the word of a King, that in a year from this, next April, We shall have invaded the King of Aragon's territory with all Our forces." And upon this the cardinal and Charles, King of the Hat, were joyous and content with what the King of France had said to them. And King Charles, also, who had remained with the Pope, provided himself from all parts with chivalry and followers with whom to go to Naples and attack Sicily.

And so I must leave them, who are making every exertion in all parts, and must speak to you again of the messengers whom the Lord King of Aragon sent to the Pope and to the King of France.

CHAPTER CIV.

How the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon had a bad reception from the Apostolic; and of the cruel answer they had from him and from the King of France.

When the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon had departed from Barcelona, they went so long on their journeys that they came to the Pope; and, assuredly, you have seen, formerly, messengers of the Lord King of Aragon received better at the court of the Pope than they were; but, however, they paid little heed to that. They came before the Pope and spoke to him thus:

"Holy Father, the Lord King of Aragon sends you and all your College many greetings and commends himself to your favour." And the Pope and the cardinals were silent and answered them nothing. And the messengers, who saw that no answer was given to their greetings, said: "Holy Father, the Lord King of Aragon

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sends to tell you by us that he marvels greatly that Your Holiness has given sentence against him and has hastened to act so strongly against him and his country without any summons made to him, which is very strange. He, Holy Father, is ready to justify himself, under your and the cardinals' jurisdiction, to King Charles and to any other man who has any claim against him; and this he is ready and prepared to secure through five or six Christian kings, who will be sureties to your court or to Your Holiness, that he will comply in all that is justly claimed of him by King Charles or any other. And so he entreats and requests Your Holiness and the cardinals that he be given formal hearing, and that you revoke the sentence you have given; that, your honour safeguarded, it be not carried out. And if, peradventure, he will not submit to the judgment given, then there will be cause that you, Holy Father, proceed against him. But, assuredly, he will not go against the judgment, and Holy Church knows what she should do." And upon this they ceased speaking.

And the Pope answered: "We have heard well what you have said, and We answer you that We shall not turn back, nor undo what We have done; for all We have done against him We have done with good right and cause." And he was silent. And one of the messengers, who was a knight, rose and said: "Holy Father, I marvel much at the cruel answer you give us, and well can it be seen that you are of the nation of King Charles, for his people are listened to here, and loved and helped; but it is the Lord King of Aragon who has given more increase to Holy Church than all the kings of the world for the last hundred years, without succour and aid from the Church. And again, he would have made more conquests, if you had given indulgences to those who came to his assistance in Barbary, such as you have given against him. But because of the

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cruel answer you made him, he departed thence; from which great harm has come to Christendom. Wherefore, Holy Father, for the love of God, amend your answer." And the Pope answered: "The answer is this: that we shall do no otherwise." And upon this the messengers rose all together and said: "Holy Father, see here letters, which give us power to ratify, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon, all we have said, and so be pleased to accept his ratification." Said the Pope: "I accept nothing." And upon this the four messengers called a notary and said: "Holy Father, then, as you answer us thus, we appeal from your sentence, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon, to Our Lord the true God, Who is Lord of all, and to the Blessed Saint Peter; and we request this notary to put it in writing" (and the notary rose and took the appeal and put it into legal form). "And again, Holy Father, we declare to you, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon that, as we find no mercy in you, all the injury he and his followers will do in his defence, be upon your soul and upon the souls of all those who have given you such counsel; and neither the soul of the Lord King of Aragon nor those of his followers will have punishment or hurt for it, for God knows that nothing will be done by his nor his people's guilt; and of this, notary, make us another document." And so he did at once. And the Pope answered: "We have acted justly towards your King, and he who does not believe this, be sure that he is under interdict and excommunication. Everyone knows, or may know, that no sentence ever issues from the court of the Pope that is not just. And this is the truth, that this sentence is just; therefore We shall change nothing in it henceforth; and as for you, prepare to go." Wherefore the messengers departed, displeased, from the Pope and returned to Catalonia, to the Lord King and told him all that had been said to them and what they

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had said and done. And the Lord King lifted his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and Father, into Thy hands I commend Myself and My people, and to Thy judgment."

What shall I tell you? If these messengers to the Pope came back with an evil answer, with as bad came those of the King of France, and they also had made their protest there. And when they came before the Lord King and recounted this mission to him, he said: "Now come what may; if God is with us We fear their power not at all."

And so I do not wish to speak to you any more of these messages, for I should have too much to do if I wished to recount it all; it is enough for me to say the sum and substance of them. And so I must cease to speak to you of the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon and shall turn to the admiral En Roger de Luria.

CHAPTER CV.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria defeated thirty-seven galleys, and took or defeated twenty-five which had come out of Naples with eight counts and six other banner lords in order to land at Cefalu.

When the admiral En Roger de Luria had taken Lipari and had sent the two armed lenys and the two armed barges from Lipari for news, they returned after a few days, each separately, and brought news of thirty-six galleys, which had come out of Naples with many counts and barons and brought with them so many barges that they carried full three hundred horses; and so also, by land, much chivalry was coming as far as Amandolea, and this chivalry would land at Cefalu, which is one of the strong castles of Sicily still holding

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out for King Charles. But the city, situated at the foot of the mountain, was not holding out for him, and so they were coming to take the city of Cefalu and put succours into the castle. And when they had set the chivalry on shore, they were to return to Amandolea and make many journeys, until all had been taken across; assuredly this would be done, if God did not give remedy. And, in truth, they very nearly succeeded in doing great damage to the island of Sicily.

And when the admiral En Roger heard this news, he at once had the trumpet sounded and made the people assemble in the stern of the galleys, and recounted to them all he had heard, and then preached to them and said many good words to them. And finally, amongst others he said these: "Lords, you have heard how my Lady the Queen of Aragon has come to Sicily, and has brought with her the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique; whereat we must all have great joy and gladness. And so we must act in such wise that, with the help of God, we take those galleys and those people who come so insolently. Everyone can well imagine that when eight counts and six other banner-lords are coming, that there is pride and power. Wherefore it is now needful that each man redouble his courage, for, indeed, we shall all get great honour in fighting against such expert men." And all cried: "Admiral, let us go. Each day will seem a year to us until we are at them."

And at once the trumpet sounded and all embarked and left in due time and set their course for Stromboli and from Stromboli they entered Calabria and came straight to Amandolea and from Amandolea to Ṣcimoflet and then to Sentonocent, and then to Citraro, and then they came to Castrocucco and to Maratia. And when they were on the beach of the city of Macanstre, they saw the fleet of the counts off Cape Palinura. And

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when they saw it, all cried: "Aur! Aur!" and they arrayed themselves full well in order of battle and then steered for their enemies. And when the counts saw the fleet of the admiral En Roger come with banners upraised, assuredly, they were greatly pleased; but if they were pleased, the crews of the galleys were not. However, they had to work as galley slaves, and dared not contradict the orders and wishes of the counts and of the other barons.

1284 And so, ready for the battle, they went to attack. And if ever people have been seen attacking vigorously, they did, and when they were fighting hand-to-hand, you might have seen blows given and the Catalan cross-bowmen shoot in such manner that you may believe they never missed once. What shall I tell you? It is an arduous task to fight against the power of God, and God was with the admiral and the Catalans and the Latins who were with him. Rank and riches were of no use there, rather were the Catalans so vigorous that the galleys of the counts were defeated Those who could disengage themselves from the throng left the battle, and there were eleven galleys which left it in such a state that they had no occasion to sing the Te Deum, rather they thought only to flee. And the admiral, who saw them go, detached six of his galleys, in order that they should follow them; and they followed them as far as the castle of Pixota and there they attacked them on shore; but owing to the numerous chivalry that was there, they could take none. But, however, it came to the same thing for them, for the chivalry which was there, whose lords were in the galleys, said: "Ah, traitors, how is it you have forsaken such noble chiefs as those who are in the galleys?" And so, upon this, they cut them all down. And the admiral and his galleys renewed their efforts and cried: "Aragon! Aragon! at them! at them!" And they boarded the

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galleys, and every man they found on deck was killed, except the counts and the barons; those of them who had escaped alive surrendered to the admiral. And so the admiral captured the counts and the barons and all the other people of twenty-five galleys, dead or prisoners, and the galleys and all there was in them and then sent for the barges which were carrying the horses and took them all, so that not more than ten escaped. But these few escaped when the battle was at its height and went to the said castle of Pixota. And so the admiral, with great joy, took the twenty-five which had remained and all the galleys, barges and the lenys, and also all the counts and barons, except the count of Monfort and a brother of his, and two cousins-german of his, who let themselves be cut to pieces, for they would not surrender. And in this they did well, for they knew well that they would not escape if they had remained alive, for they would have had their heads cut off. But all the other counts and barons surrendered to the admiral.

And when all this was done, the admiral set his course for Messina and sent at once an armed leny to Catalonia to the Lord King, and another to Sicily to my Lady the Queen and to the Lords Infantes. And do not ask me if there was great gladness in all these regions, for you can all imagine it. And so also you can imagine that the people of the fleet of the King of Aragon had great gain; for so much had everyone gained, from the greatest to the least, that it would take too long to tell; for the admiral left to each man what booty he had taken. And with these privileges the Admiral gave them, he redoubled their courage. And he learned this from what the Lord King had done with the ten galleys of the Saracens which En Conrado Lansa had defeated, as you have heard already. Wherefore every admiral or chief of men of arms should endeavour to

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keep those who go with him cheerful and rich. If he takes their booty from them, he takes the heart out of them and this he finds when he needs them. Wherefore many are lost and will be lost if they are not generous and open-handed, and men with whom there is honour and victory to be gained. And so, content, as you may understand, they came to Messina.

And if ever there was a feast, this one was the greatest ever made on earth. And the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique rode out with many honourable people, to the Fuente del Oro and all Messina went there also. And when the admiral saw the Infantes, he went on board a barge which set him on shore, and he approached the Lord Infante En Jaime and kissed his hand, and the Lord Infante kissed him on the mouth, and afterwards the Lord Infante En Fadrique did likewise. And the admiral said to the Lord Infante En Jaime: "Lord, what do you command me to do?" Said the Lord Infante En Jaime: "Go on board the galleys and make your feast, and then go and salute at the palace, and then go and make reverence to my Lady the Queen; and then We shall hold Our council with you and with Our other council, as to what you should do." And so the admiral went on board the galleys and went to make his feast, towing the galleys and the barges and the lenys he had taken, stern foremost and the pennons trailing. And when he came in front of the custom-house, he chanted the Te Deum and all Messina responded, so that it seemed heaven and earth were crumbling. And when all this was done, the admiral landed at the custom-house and entered the palace and went to do obeisance to my Lady the Queen, and kissed the ground in front of her three times before he approached her, and then kissed her hand and my Lady the Queen received him with a kind and joyous mien. And as he had made obeisance to my Lady the Queen so likewise, he went to

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make obeisance to Doña Bella, his mother, and his mother kissed him, weeping for joy, more than ten times, and held him so closely that no one could have separated them, until my Lady the Queen rose and parted them. And when she had parted them, the admiral, with the leave of my Lady the Queen and of Doña Bella, his mother, went to his inn where a great feast was made for him. And he had the counts and barons put into the castle of Matagrifon,[1] and had them chained with strong leg-fetters; and he appointed suitable guards. And the horses, of which there were full three hundred, he sent to the Lord Infante En Jaime, to do what he pleased with them. And the Lord Infante En Jaime, instead of having them put into his stables, gave thirty to the admiral, and all the others he gave to counts and barons and knights and franklins; not one did he keep for his own use, except four handsome palfreys there were amongst them, which he gave to his brother, the Infante En Fadrique.

And when all this was done, the Lord Infante En Jaime assembled his council in the palace, to which council came the admiral and the others who had been appointed. And when they were all assembled my Lady the Queen sent to tell the Lord Infante En Jaime, to come before her with his council; and at once they

[1] "The King of England [Richard Cœur de Lion] now having little confidence in the natives, built a new wooden fort of great strength and height by the walls of Messina, which, to the reproach of the Griffones, he called 'Mategriffun.'" (Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, section 28.) In section 64, Richard of Devizes says: "The King of the English, unused to delay, on the third day of his arrival at the Siege [of Acre] caused his wooden fortress which he had called 'Mate Grifun,' when it was made in Sicily, to be built and set up, and before the dawn of the fourth day the machine stood erect by the walls of Acre, and from its height looked down upon the city lying beneath it." The wooden fort erected by the walls of Messina by Richard was evidently replaced by a stronger structure, a regular mediæval castle, to which prisoners were sent for safe custody.

The barony of Akova in the Morea was called Matagrifon by the Aragonese and Catalans. It was a favourite name with them where they wished to express their hatred and contempt for the Greeks. (See Chapter CXIII.)

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went. And when they were in her presence, she said: "Son, I pray you, for the honour of God, before you decide anything about the prisoners, that you set free whatever men there are from the Principality and from Calabria and from Apulia and from the Abruzzi; and that you send them each to his country, as the Lord King your father did with those who were taken at Catona and at the defeat of the galleys of Nicotera. For, Son, your father and you and We may be certain that none of them fought against us of their own will, rather did they thus as slaves, for they know full well that they are Our natural subjects. And if the heart of each could be laid open there would be found written on it the name of Our grandfather, the Emperor Frederick, and of Our father, King Manfred, and Ours and that of all of us. And so it would be a sin if these men perished whilst in Our power." And upon this the Lord Infante said: "My Lady, as you command, so it shall be done." And at once, in the presence of my Lady the Queen, the Lord Infante En Jaime commanded the admiral to carry this out. And the admiral answered that it should be done as they had commanded; and it was so fulfilled. Wherefore I need say no more about it, for the dispositions that the Lord King had made for the others were carried out exactly. And so the great fame and great renown of my Lady the Queen's virtues went through all the land and afterwards throughout all the world. And when all this was granted the Lord Infante and his council went to hold their council where they were accustomed to hold it for all matters, and it was decided that, in regard to count or baron or knight, nothing should be done without the decision of the Lord King of Aragon, and that a galley should be provided at once with messengers who would go to Catalonia and take with them the names of all the prisoners, in order that the Lord King might command what he pleased. And as it was decided,

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so it was fulfilled; and the galley was fitted out and departed from Messina.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the galley, and I shall turn to speak to you of another matter which should not be omitted.

CHAPTER CVI.

How micer Agustin d'Availles, a Frenchman, went to Agosta with twenty galleys of the Prince Matagrifon and took and sacked the town; and how their commander fled to Brindisi; and of the great fear he had of En Roger de Luria.

It is the truth that whilst this fleet of the counts was being prepared at Naples, a noble of France, by name micer A. d'Availles, who was a powerful baron, thought that he, on his own account, could perform some signal deed which would turn to his honour and to that of his men, and which would please King Charles, for he had left France in order to support him. And he came to the Prince[1] and said to him: "Prince, I know you have at Brindisi twenty galleys undecked aft. May it please you to have them fitted out, for they are all in good repair; and spread the rumour that you wish to send me to the Morea with chivalry, and let everyone embark at once, voluntarily or by force. And I, with three hundred horsemen, all natural dependents of mine and of kinsmen of mine, shall go on board with expert knights. And have me set on shore in Sicily, at Agosta, where there is a good port and a strong, fine castle which I have held before for your father. And at present the King of Aragon is not careful to guard it and the town is not well walled and, with the crews of the galleys, we must be able to enter it at once. And whilst I shall

[1] Charles, Prince of Salerno, afterwards Charles II of Naples.

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attack on one side, count Brienne, count Monfort and the other counts who have gone there, will attack as fiercely on another. Thus we shall surely lay waste and burn all the island, and shall reinforce all the castles still held for you. And whilst En Roger de Luria is out of Sicily we can safely carry out what I have planned." What shall I tell you? The Prince knew micer A. d'Availles for so fine a knight and for so wise that he believed him and granted him what he had proposed. And as he had planned, so it was done; whilst the admiral was at Lipari they got ready and departed from Brindisi and came to the town of Agosta and attacked and captured and sacked it.

And when they landed, they inquired the state of the island. And some men of Agosta, whom they had captured, gave information to the commander of the galleys who was questioning them and who came from Brindisi. The Frenchmen were so arrogant that they cared not to ask any questions, but only to burn and plunder the town, but the commander of the galleys, who had the fear of En Roger in his heart, questioned them very secretly, and they of whom he inquired said to him: "Lord, be sure that three days ago the admiral was at Messina." And they recounted to him the whole of the matter. And at once the commander of the galleys went to micer A. d'Availles and said to him: "Micer A., if you wish it, I will go to Calabria with the galleys to-night and bring you the company I shall find on the beach of Stilaro, which the Prince will have sent you; and thus you will be better accompanied. Here I can do you no service with the galleys." And the French are people who, in matters of the sea, of which they understand nothing, believe what any man tells them. And so micer A. d'Availles told him to go, and luck go with him, but he bid him return soon. But of the going I need not tell you; if he told a deaf man, he did not

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tell a lazy one. However, micer A. gained as much by giving him leave as if he had not given it, for the commander would have gone away that night, just the same, for he knew well (and it was so) that they had come in an evil hour. And so he landed the victuals and what he had belonging to the knights and, at night, put out to sea. But do not imagine that he had any thought of going near the beach of Stilaro, rather he went out to sea in haste and steered for Cape Colonne, and rested not until he came to Brindisi. And when he came to Brindisi. he left the galleys in the dockyard and every man went away to wherever he wished and if any are still alive, they are fleeing still.

Now I shall let them be who have brought the galleys to a safe and good place and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

CHAPTER CVII.

How micer Agustin d'Availles was taken and defeated by the Lord Infante En Jaime.

As soon as the Lord Infante and the admiral knew that micer A. d'Availles had sacked and burned Agosta, the Lord Infante En Jaime had his banner brought out, with full seven hundred horsemen and three thousand almugavars and many men afoot of Messina; and he went straight to Agosta. And the admiral made every man go on board the galleys and there was no need to entreat or force them, for they embarked willingly, as if they were gaining indulgences, with great joy and gladness. And as soon as they were on board they went to the harbour of Agosta and prepared to go up to the town, without waiting for the Lord Infante. And there,

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on the roads, you might have seen deeds of arms, the finest of the world. What shall I tell you? That there were darts and spears thrown by the hands of almugavars which passed through knight and horse, right through their armour and all. And assuredly the admiral would have killed and defeated them all that day, but it was night when this was going on and they had to stop the hand-to-hand fight. And when it was dawn, the Lord Infante and his host came before the castle, and they of the castle held themselves for dead men, for they had gone into the castle in such haste that they could not put in forage and victuals for even three days; and so they thought themselves lost. And upon this the Lord Infante gave orders to attack, and if you have ever seen a fortress vigorously attacked, this one was. But the castle is assuredly the strongest I know standing in a plain. It is true that you cannot well count it as standing in a plain; rather it is at a great height looking towards two sides, to the side of the harbour, and towards the Greek sea. And so they could not take it easily at all by shield and lance. Wherefore the Lord Infante En Jaime, on the following day, had the catapults erected, which they brought from the galleys. And when micer Agustin d'Availles found himself in such danger, he saw his folly. He had already lost full one hundred knights and many men afoot, and provisions he had none. And so he sent two knights to the Lord Infante by whom he entreated mercy, to let them go out and have them set down in Calabria, and he promised never to fight against him. And the Lord Infante, moved by compassion, and for love of God, and out of courtesy, answered that he would let them go, but under a covenant by which he gave them the assurance that he would do them always all the injury he could, and under the assurance that they would take away neither horse nor harness nor anything in the world, except clothes.

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And when micer Agustin heard what the messengers told him that the Infante had answered, he asked them if anyone had advised this. And they replied no, rather had he answered without any advice. "Ah God," said micer Agustin, "what great sin does he commit who does and occasions injury to such a House of accomplished knights. I tell you, he has answered more nobly than prince ever did. Wherefore I say to you, let what pleases him be done." And so it was ratified, and it was done to the grief of the admiral and of all who were there, for they thought it much better they should be killed; but to the Lord Infante En Jaime it seemed good and that, for the honour of God, this was best. And so the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to set them on shore, safe and secure, in a place which was being held for King Charles. And so they embarked as had been settled. And when they had embarked, the Lord Infante sent ten horses to micer Agustin, for him to ride, he and nine noblemen of his lineage who were with him, and to each he sent suitable clothes and gave orders to the admiral that, when he had landed them, he should give these to them in his name.

And when all was on board the Lord Infante called the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, you will take twelve galleys well equipped. We shall make En Berenguer de Vilaragut commander of them and when you have set these people on shore, you will return to Messina and En Berenguer de Vilaragut will set his course for Brindisi. And if he can find the twenty galleys which brought these people to Agosta, let him fight them, for, with the favour of God, he will easily bring them away." "Lord," said the admiral, "this shall be done as you command, and I am pleased that you entrust the galleys to En Berenguer de Vilaragut, who is a very wise knight and accomplished in all feats." And upon this they called En Berenguer de Vilaragut and the Lord Infante En

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Jaime told him what they had planned, and told him to go on board the galleys and to prepare to do well. And En Berenguer de Vilaragut went and kissed his hand and gave him many thanks. And he embarked at once with a good company of knights and of men afoot, and they took leave of the Lord Infante and of those who were with him and went to the beach of Stilaro, and the admiral set down micer Agustin and his company in front of the castle. And then he gave him, in the name of the Lord Infante, the ten horses for the use of himself and the other barons who were his kinsmen, and the harness for them and the horses. With that micer Agustin and the others, who saw such courtesy, said: "Ah, God, what are the Pope and the cardinals doing that they do not make the King of Aragon and his sons lords of all the world?" And they gave many thanks to the admiral, and begged him to commend them to the favour of the Lord Infante and to let him know of a surety that, because of his noble qualities, they would not be against him as long as they lived, in any part of the world.

And when micer Agustin and his companions came to Naples they found the Prince sad and displeased with what had happened to the counts. And the defeat of micer Agustin made his sorrow twice as great, so that he exclaimed: "It would be better for King Charles, Our father, to arrange this matter, for if he settles it by war, I see it all lost."

Now I shall speak of the admiral who is returning to Messina. En Vilaragut parted from him with twelve galleys well equipped and two armed lenys and two barges. And so I shall cease to speak of them and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime.

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CHAPTER CVIII.

How the Lord Infante En Jaime garrisoned the castle of Agosta, fortified it and peopled it with Catalans and how he obtained Soterrera and the castle of Cefalu.

It is the truth that when the admiral and En Berenguer de Vilaragut had parted from the Lord Infante with those people, the Lord Infante garrisoned the castle and fortified it and repaired it. And also, he had a wall made in the town which joined it to the castle on two sides. The town was long in shape, wherefore it was not very strong, nor easily defended, and on that account it was lost. And when he had arranged to have this wall made, he had cried throughout the host and throughout all Sicily that he was sending a proclamation, that every man of Agosta who was still alive should return. But, unfortunately, few were still alive. And so he also proclaimed throughout all the host and then throughout all Sicily that all Catalans who wished to settle in Agosta should come, for they would be given good properties, free and exempt. And many came who are still there they or their issue. And when this was done he went to visit Syracuse and Noto and all the valley. And then he went to Soterrera, of which the castle still held for King Charles, and he laid such a siege to it that it surrendered in a short time. And then he went to visit a great part of the island. Then he went to Cefalu and laid siege to the castle which also held for King Charles and, likewise, hardly any time elapsed before it surrendered. And so he cast all his enemies out of all Sicily and then returned to Messina, where a great feast was made for him by the Queen and by the Infante En Fadrique and by all.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord Infante and, shall turn to speak of En Berenguer de Vilaragut.

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CHAPTER CIX.

How the noble En Berenguer de Vilaragut, with twelve galleys, took many ships and terides of King Charles and sacked Gallipoli and Villanova and Apulia.

WHEN En Berenguer de Vilaragut had parted from the admiral he steered for Cape Colonne. And at dawn of day he went to Cotrone, where he found three ships and many terides of King Charles loaded with victuals, which he was sending to the chivalry he imagined was in Sicily. And at once he surrounded them and took them all and manned them, and sent them to Sicily, to Messina. And then he shaped his course for Taranto and there also he found much shipping which he took and sent to Messina. And then he set his course for Cape Leuca and took Gallipoli and sacked it, and in every place he had news of the galleys which may have been already at Brindisi full eight days, for they had tarried nowhere. And therefore he went harrying the coast, so as not to have come in vain. And therefore he entered each of those places, thinking to find them. And then, from Gallipoli, he went to Otranto, which is a good and rich city; and in the harbour of Otranto he also found much shipping, which he took and sent to Messina. And then he went to the port of Brindisi and entered it as far as the chain, for he could not enter further. And he sent to say to the commander of the galleys that, if he wished to issue forth to give him battle, he would wait for him three days. And so he did, for he awaited him three days within the harbour, but no one wished to issue forth. And when he saw that the commander did not wish to give him battle, he departed one night from Brindisi, and went to raid Vilanova and then Apulia, and then the whole borough of Monopoli. And when he was sacking all this he took much shipping everywhere, which he sent

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to Messina. And then he went to harry the island of Corfu and there also he took ships and terides.

And when all this was done and he had made endless gain, he returned to Messina, joyous and content, and so were all who were with him. And so they should be, for the gain he and all who were with him had made was countless. And when he came to Messina he was received by my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and by the admiral and by all, and a great feast was made for them. And when this was over, the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to have all the galleys repaired and to set up a recruiting table for forty galleys, for he wished forty galleys to be equipped. He had heard that fifty were being fitted out at Naples. And as he commanded so it was done.

Now I shall cease to speak of my Lady the Queen and of the Lords Infantes and of the admiral who is having the forty galleys repaired and has set up a recruiting table and I shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER CX.

How the Lord King of Aragon, when he heard of the victory of the battle of the counts and what En Vilaragut had done, decided to put his affairs in order and sent to tell the Lord Infante En Jaime what he should do with the counts.

It is the truth that when the Lord King of Aragon had heard of the battle of the counts (for so it was called and 1283
will always be called, because of the many counts there were in it) and also of the matter of Agosta, and what En Vilaragut had done, he had great joy and great pleasure, and he praised and blessed God for the favour He had shown him. And so also he decided to put his

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affairs in order. And when he heard what his messengers, whom he had sent to the Pope and the King of France, told him, he said to himself that this was no trifling matter, that two such powers should be preparing to invade his territory, besides the crusade the Pope had proclaimed against him; because others might take part
Oct. 1283 in it also. And he had Cortes assembled at Saragossa of all the Aragonese.

And when the Cortes were assembled, the Lord King spoke many good words and recounted to them the favour God had shown him in the battle of the counts; for the galley which had brought the news had been at Barcelona for many days. And soon the Lord King dispatched it and made it return and sent orders to the Lord Infante as to what he should do with the counts and other barons and knights he held prisoners. Of this it is not necessary to speak or make mention. For the Lord King was so wise that he always chose the best that should be done. And what he commanded was done and nothing else. And what my Lady the Queen had done with the lesser people pleased him right well. And when he had recounted it all to them he also told them about Agosta and what En Berenguer de Vilaragut had done. And afterwards, when he had recounted this to them and spoken many good words appropriate to the time, he told them what the messengers had transacted with the Pope, and also what those of the King of France had told him; in what manner the Pope had given sentence against him and his supporters, and how he made donation of his country to his nephew Carlot, son of the King of France. And likewise, how the King of France was getting ready by sea and by land, and that he had sworn that, in a year from this April, he would be in Catalonia with his forces. And so he required richs homens and prelates and knights and citizens and towns and castles, all to give him advice and assistance.

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And when he had said all this to them, those who had been appointed to answer rose and said that they had heard well all he had said and that they praised and blessed God for the honour and victory He had given him; but that, also, they were much displeased with what the Apostolic Father had enacted and done against him and so likewise with the King of France. Nevertheless they trusted in God that He would help him, for he and his people maintained a right and these others a wrong. And thus God, Who is truth and equity and justice, would support him and confound those who, with so much arrogance and pride, were coming against him, And that, as for themselves, they offered to help and support him whilst they had life and power, and that they were prepared to accept death and to mete out death to all who came against him. And they prayed and entreated him of his mercy to be cheerful and comforted, so that all his people be cheered and comforted by it; and that he arrange to ordain all his territory on the frontiers of the King of France, and have galleys made and everything got ready for the defence of his Kingdom, and that he remember the other frontiers; "as to the frontier between Aragon, Navarre and Gascony, we shall guard it and defend it in such manner, if it please God, that you, Lord, will be grateful to us and that the enemy will know that they have to do with those who will give them plenty of bad luck." And when the Lord King heard the good offer that the barons of Aragon and the knights and citizens and towns and villages had made him in so good an answer, he was very joyous and held himself well content with them all.

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CHAPTER CXI.

How the Lord King En Pedro marched against En Eustache Governor of Navarre, who had invaded Aragon with four thousand horse; and how the said En Eustache returned with all his followers.

BEFORE the Lord King and the richs homens and the others who were assembled at Saragossa for the Cortes departed, a reliable message came to them that En Eustache,[1] who was governor of Navarre for the Lord King of France, had invaded Aragon with four thousand armed horse, and that he had taken the tower of Ull, which had been held by En Eximeno de Artieda, a knight of Aragon who was a very accomplished knight; and this appeared in the defence of the tower of Ull, for he did so much there that no knight could do more in any feat of arms. By his prowess he obtained his life, though against his wish. En Eustache commanded he should on no account be killed, for it would be a great loss if such a knight were killed. And so, by force, they took him alive. And when they had taken him, En Eustache sent him to Toulouse, to the castle Narbonne, and ordered him to be handed over to En Tozet de Xanxis who held the castle. Then En Eximeno de Artieda did so much by his prowess that he fled from that place and returned to Aragon, and did much harm to the French when he was out of prison. But I shall cease to speak of him, for there would be much to do if one wished to recount all the prowess and bold and worthy deeds that the knights of Aragon and Catalonia performed in these wars and in others, and there would not be time to write it. And it is said in Catalonia that the work exalts the

[1] Eustache de Beaumarchais sent by Philip III to Navarre during the minority of Queen Joan who had been taken to Paris by her mother, and who married Philip's son, afterwards Philip IV, on the 16th August, 1284.

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master; wherefore, by the deeds of Catalans and Aragonese, can be known in general and briefly what manner of men they are. If they had not been valiant and worthy they would not have performed the deeds they did and do perform every day, with the grace and help of God. Wherefore there is no need to speak of anyone in particular, except of the deeds of the chiefs who ordain them.

And when the Lord King and those who were with him heard this, and the war cry had gone forth, the banner of the Lord King, and all the chiefs and councils of the cities and towns of Aragon issued out of Saragossa. And they came and followed the banner of the Lord King so that, since Aragon has been inhabited, so many select Aragonese gentry had not been assembled together; so that I tell you truly they not only defeated the forces of En Eustache, but they would also have defeated those of the King of France, had they been there.

And the Lord King, with great joyousness and content, went to where he knew that the host of En Eustache was, and he hastened so that one day, at the hour of compline,[1] he was close to the host of En Eustache, at the entrance to Navarre. En Eustache had turned back already when he heard that the Lord King was within a league of him. Each host had news of the other. And, at night, the Lord King preached to his followers and exhorted them to do well and spoke many good words and told them that, in the morning, with the grace of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary, every man should follow his banner and prepare to do well; that he wished to fight his enemies who had never imagined so mad an adventure as when they invaded his Kingdom. And when the Lord King had spoken, all answered well, but the event turned out in such

[1] The hour of evening prayer before retiring to rest.

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manner that En Eustache with all his following returned safe and sound into Navarre, whereat the Lord King was greatly displeased. He had not had so great a displeasure since he was born and I do not wish to say anything more about it, for certainly he needs must be displeased when he knew that En Eustache had entered Navarre in safety.

And the Lord King of Aragon came by his journeys to Barcelona and there also convened Cortes and commanded that all they of Catalonia should be at Barcelona by a fixed day.

CHAPTER CXII.

How the Lord King of Aragon gave his reasons to En Ramon Marquet and to En Berenguer Mallol why he was having so few galleys made against the power of the Apostolic and of the King of France and King Charles; and of the answer made to him in the Cortes at Barcelona.

WITH that the Cortes were convoked, of richs homens and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen; and the Lord King called En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, who had come from Sicily with the galleys with which they had accompanied my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes. And he commanded them to have, incontinent, ten galleys made, so that they should not be short of galleys. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said to the Lord King: "Lord, what is this you say? You know that your enemies are having a hundred and twenty galleys made, and you will not have more than ten made?" And answered the Lord King and said: "Do you not know that We have full eighty in Sicily which, when We need them, will come ready equipped?" Said

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they: "Lord, we should think it well that at least fifty galleys were made here, for one cannot know whether those that are in Sicily would come in time when we need them, for, owing to matters there, they might delay. The power of the Church and of the King of France and King Charles and of their supporters is so great that we believe that they will give us enough to do there and here, even if we had fifty galleys between Valencia and Tortosa and Tarragona and Barcelona, and even if we had more. But, yet, Lord, if you had fifty galleys fitted out in Catalonia we would trust fully that, with the help of God and your good fortune, we would overcome all those of the enemy." And the Lord King answered: "Notables, you speak well, but it is much better that the enemy should not know that we have galleys here, for if they knew that we have them here and that there are fifty, theirs would come all together; and it would be a hard task and a great danger to fight them all, for there are very select people in those galleys, as well Provençals as Gascons and Genoese and many others. But if they know that we have not more than ten galleys, they will come believing themselves safe and will think nothing of our forces, and therefore they will come disparted and you, with these ten galleys, will go attacking here and there at your will. And whilst they thus go along, despising our power and our galleys, these other galleys will come from Sicily and will go and attack where the greater part of their fleet will be. And so, with the help of God, we shall get the better of our enemies by showing only a small force. And it is thus in war; man must commend himself to God and then, with his help, choose the best and most profitable way and make no boast."

And when they had heard this, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said: "Lord, forgive us that

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we wanted to advise you, for it is clear to us that a hundred men like us could not follow in your footsteps. And we understand, Lord, that what you say is sound sense. And so we will have the ten galleys made as you, Lord, command." "Now," said the Lord King, "go with your good luck and keep what We have said to you secret." "Lord," said they, "be well assured of that." With that they kissed his hand and went to do what the Lord King had commanded.

With that the Cortes were assembled; all were at Barcelona on the day the Lord King had commanded, and they went to the royal palace. And the Lord King said to them all he had said to the Aragonese at the Cortes of Saragossa and spoke many good words suitable to the time. And when the Lord King had spoken, the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and spoke many good words, and amongst others he said: "Lord, I say to you for myself and for all the prelates of our archbishopric, priests and religious, that we cannot give you any advice as to the war, and, especially, against the sentence the Holy Father has given against you. Wherefore may it please you to let us live on the smallest means possible." And when the Lord King had heard well what the Archbishop had said, he recognized his great virtue and that of the other prelates and priests, and the great loyalty they showed, for what the Archbishop had said, was said to a right understanding; it meant that the Lord King should take all the property of the Church for his assistance in the war. But he said it in such wise that he could not be reproved, neither by the Pope nor by others. And in truth this was the meaning of all prelates and priests whatever who were in the land of the Lord King; that they should have their living only, whilst the war lasted, and that the Lord King should make use of all the rest. And so the Lord King answered the archbishop and said that

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he had understood well what he had said and that he held him and all the other prelates and priests excused; and that he acknowledged that they were right, and so they should go and good luck go with them; that he would remain with the chiefs, knights and citizens and townsmen and would treat of the war. And so the archbishop and other prelates and priests left the council and went home, and the Lord King remained at the Cortes with the others.

And when the archbishop and the other prelates had left the council, richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen rose, each in his turn, in the order in which they were to speak. And if good response of help and advice was made to the Lord King at Saragossa, much more complete response was there in this court, by all jointly. And so, amply as they made offer, assuredly much better still they accomplished in deed, according as you shall hear further on. For this response the Lord King was much pleased with all and gave them great presents and great thanks. And so the Cortes was concluded with great concord between the Lord King and his vassals and subjects; and all, when the word was given by the Lord King, returned home.

And when the Cortes had separated, the Lord King went to the city of Gerona and sent to tell the Lord King of Mallorca, his brother, that he wished to confer with him and that he begged him to come to him to the said city or, if he wished, he would go to him to Perpignan. But the Lord King of Mallorca said he wished to come to him at Gerona; and in a few days he came there, to the Lord King of Aragon. And the Lord King went to meet him as far as the bridge of the Terria. And whether they made feasts for each other I need not say; everyone can imagine that each brother had great joy in the other, and desire to see

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him. And so they entered Gerona amidst a great feast which was made for them. And on that day the Lord King of Mallorca and his company dined with the King of Aragon, and also on the following day and on the third. And on the fourth day the Lord King of Mallorca invited the Lord King of Aragon with all his company. And then on the fifth day the Lord King of Aragon wished the Lord King of Mallorca to dine with him. And when the two brothers had heard Mass, without anyone else being present, they went into a chamber and it was passed the hour of nones[1] before they came out and dined. What they ordained and said amongst themselves no man can know, but it is said by many people that the Lord King of Aragon gave leave to the Lord King of Mallorca to support and aid the King of France against himself, because both the brothers were wise and knew that Montpellier and the counties of Roussillon and Conflans and of Cerdagne, would be lost if he did otherwise. It was the custom of the House of France never to give up what had been taken in war; they would sooner lose all their territory. And as the two Kings knew that they could not defend Montpellier and Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne, it was better to keep these territories in this way. And so they separated without anyone knowing what they had said to each other, but those who were wise, and also the French, always suspected this. And when they had taken leave of each other the Lord King of Aragon returned to Barcelona and the Lord King of Mallorca to Perpignan.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the two kings, and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

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[1] 9 p.m.

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CHAPTER CXIII

How the admiral En Roger de Luria coasted along all Calabria and of his great exploits; and how he took Prince Matagrifon, eldest son of King Charles, prisoner, and delivered from prison my Lady the Infanta, sister of my Lady the Queen of Aragon; and of the great tribute he imposed upon the inhabitants of Naples.

WHEN the admiral had had the forty galleys repaired, which the Lord Infante had ordered him to have repaired, and had all the crews and all the leaders according to what had been ordained (that there should be as many Latins as Catalans, but that the enlisted cross-bowmen should all be Catalans in all the galleys, except in six light galleys, which had tersols) he had the bread and all else that was needed put on board. And when the galleys had a full complement of what they needed, by the favour of God the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to make everyone embark. And at once the trumpet sounded through the city and the men embarked, full of courage and goodwill. And when they had embarked, the admiral went to take leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes; and my Lady the Queen made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them. And the Lord Infante drew the admiral aside and said to him: "Admiral, We think it well that you set your course for Naples and act in such wise, if you can, as to take Ischia; for, if we had the island of Ischia, we could easily destroy Naples." And the admiral answered: "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and bless us and let us go; for, assuredly, with the favour of God, we shall do so much that it shall be spoken of for ever." And upon this, the admiral kissed the hand of the Lord Infante En Fadrique and took leave of him and of all the others and, with the grace of God, they embarked.

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And when they were all assembled there were forty galleys and four armed lenys and four armed barges. And they said the bona paraula[1] and went at a suitable hour and coasted along Calabria; and first they took Scalea. And in the harbour of Saint Nicholas of Scalea they found four ships and many terides, which were loading with chips of oars and of masts and of lateen yards for galleys and lenys, to carry to Naples. And then he took Amandolea and Ximoflet and Sant Onoxent and Citrare and the city of Policastro, and burnt and pillaged all. And then he took Castellabate. And each of these places he garrisoned. And you may believe that, as the people of Calabria knew that the combat of Bordeaux would not take place, they all surrendered after a short fight, for they were all heart and soul for the Lord King of Aragon and hated the Frenchmen, as they fully showed when the Lord Infante came to Calabria; for they had no greater wish than that the Lord Infante should come.

And when the admiral had taken all this, getting news on the way, he came to Naples, to meet the Prince, who had great displeasure at his coming. And the admiral steered for Naples, getting news all the time. And when he came before Naples, he commanded the fleet to be put in order of battle, the galleys in line, and he put on his armour and got ready, and approached the mole to within a distance of three bow-shot. And he might have approached nearer without finding anyone to oppose him, but he did it in this way intentionally, in order not to prevent the enemy from going on board their galleys; for he wished above all that they should man all the galleys there and fight him. And when they of Naples saw the galleys of the admiral approach, then

[1] In Chapter CXXX, Muntaner speaks of "the hour of the bona paraula." It seems to have been a prayer prescribed for certain occasions, such as the departure of a ship.

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might you have heard shouts and the cry of alarm and the ringing of bells in Naples, so that it seemed that heaven and earth were crumbling. And the Prince came to the mole with all the chivalry and had the trumpet sounded, and proclaimed that, under pain of death, all should go on board the galleys. But his proclamation was in vain, for no one would go on board. And when the Prince saw this, moved by anger, he himself, went on board first. And when the counts and barons and knights and citizens and all the other people saw the Prince in the galleys, moved by shame all went on board the said galleys, each with his arms and well apparelled. What shall I tell you? Thirty-eight galleys were manned and many lenys and many barges. And when they were manned, they proceeded to row towards the admiral. And the admiral pretended to flee and drew away, in such manner that he had them in a place from which not a galley could escape. And when he saw that he had them well out at sea, he turned towards them. And they, who saw him turn, lost the energy with which they were pursuing him and loosened their oars. And the admiral did the same and had the galleys lashed together and put in order of battle. And the Prince did the same.

And when both sides had done this, each galley went to attack another. And if ever there was a hard battle at sea this one was, for neither the battle of Malta nor the battle of the counts could be compared to it. What shall I tell you? The battle lasted from the hour of tierce[1] until the hour of vespers. But against the will and power of God no man can stand. And so the power and will of God was and is with the Lord King of Aragon and with his people; wherefore King Charles and the Prince were as nothing against him. And so Our Lord the true God gave victory to the

[1] 9 a.m.

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admiral and his followers, who all together cried: "Aragon! Aragon and Sicily! at them!" And with great vigour they cleared full thirty galleys, but when they had cleared these, they could not take the galley of the Prince, nor the others which were around him, such honourable men of rank were there in them, who all would rather die than see their Prince taken. But what use was it? In the end they could not hold out, and the greater part of all the counts and barons and men of rank that were there were killed. The galley of the Prince alone remained; no one could take it. And upon this the admiral called to his men to encourage them. And all jumped on board the galley of the Prince and cleared all the prow. And the admiral boarded the galley, sword in hand; and when they came to the middle of the galley you might have seen feats of arms and blows given and taken which were marvellous to behold, so that all who were on the deck of the galley of the Prince were killed. And the admiral came to the Prince, who was defending himself better than king or king's son or any other knight had ever done. He did so much that no one could get near his thrusts. And, assuredly, he preferred to die rather than live, so full of rage was he. There were knights of the admiral who came, lance in hand, to attack him; but the admiral cried: "Barons, hold! it is the Prince, and I prefer to have him alive rather than dead." And the Prince heard this and saw that his defence was little use and he surrendered to the admiral. And so they were all either killed or taken.

And as soon as the battle had been won, the admiral said to the Prince: "If you wish to live there are two things you must do at once; and if you do not wish to do them, reckon upon it that now the death of King Conradin will be avenged." And the Prince answered the admiral: "What is it that you wish I should do?

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If I can do it, I will, willingly." "What I wish," said the admiral, "is that you send at once for the daughter of King Manfred, sister of my Lady the Queen of Aragon, whom you hold in your prison here, in the Castel del Uovo, with the ladies and damsels of her household who are there; and that you make the castle and town of Ischia surrender to me." And the Prince answered that he would do it willingly; and at once sent one of his knights on shore in an armed leny, and brought my Lady the Infanta, sister of my Lady the Queen, with four damsels and two widowed ladies. And the admiral received them with great joy and with great gladness and knelt down and kissed the hand of my Lady the Infanta. And when this was done, he shaped his course for Ischia with all the galleys. And when they came to Ischia they found there great mourning, because the greater part of the gentry of Ischia had been killed or taken in the battle. And the Prince commanded that the castle and the town be surrendered to the admiral. And at once, without much entreaty, they did so, in order to recover their friends who were prisoners in the galleys. And the admiral received the castle and the town and left there four galleys fully equipped and two lenys, and full two hundred men, and he sent out of the galleys all the prisoners who were of Ischia and let them go without any ransom, and he clothed them in the clothes of the others, at which the people of Ischia were much comforted and cheered.

And when this was done he commanded him whom he had left as commander of the four galleys and the two armed lenys to let no one enter or leave Naples without his permit; and those who entered were to pay a stipulated amount for a ship or for a leny or for goods; and those who went out, a gold coin for each cask of wine and two florins for each cask of oil, and

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so, likewise, all the merchandize of every kind was to pay a stipulated toll. And this was done, and even more, for in this manner did they constrain them: the commander of Ischia had his factor in Naples, who received the toll of all aforesaid things and with whose permit only were they allowed to go out of the town; otherwise they would be imprisoned and would lose the ship or leny and the merchandize. This was the greatest glory a king ever had over another, this which the Lord King of Aragon had over King Charles. And King Charles had to suffer it for the sake of the people of Naples who would have perished if they had not been able to sell their goods and take them out of Naples. And when this was ordained the admiral set his course for Procida and the island of Capri, and each of these islands he took. And as the men of Ischia had done homage to him, so did they of these islands, and he gave up to them the prisoners he had of all these places.

And when this was done, the admiral sent an armed leny to Catalonia, to the Lord King of Aragon, and another to Sicily, to tell this good news; and may God give us as great joy as they had in each of those places. But whilst the Lord King of Aragon and all Catalonia and Aragon and the Kingdom of Valencia had great joy, and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and all Sicily as well, when King Charles and the Pope and all those of their party in Rome heard this, their grief was great. But the Ghibelline party had great joy and pleasure thereat.

And when the armed lenys had parted from the admiral, the Lord who had given him victory, gave him such good weather that, within a few days, he was at Messina. And when they were within the Torrecilla, the joy and gladness and the feast began at Messina, the greatest ever made; and the Infantes went out with all the chivalry on horseback to the Fuente del Oro,

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and so did all the people of Messina. And the admiral with his galleys towed the galleys he had taken, stern foremost and banners trailing. And when he came to the Fuente del Oro and saw that the Infantes were there, he went on shore in an armed barge, and the Infantes, who saw him come on shore, went to meet him and the admiral went to them and kissed their hands, and each of them stooped and kissed him on the mouth. And when this was done, the admiral asked the Infante En Jaime what he commanded that he should do with the Prince. And the Lord Infante answered: "Go on board the galleys and finish your feast, and We shall be at the palace before you to receive the Infanta, Our aunt. And We shall hold Our council with you and with Our other councillors as to what to do with the Prince and the other persons."

And so the admiral went on board the galleys and, amidst great joy and gladness, he entered the harbour of Messina and came before the palace, chanting the Te Deum all the time. And all Messina answered him, so that it was glorious for those who wished the House of Aragon well, but very grievous for the others. And when the Te Deum was ended, the admiral ordered the ladders to be set for the shore at the custom-house, in the harbour. And to this place my Lady the Queen issued forth, and the Infantes ascended the galley and received their aunt with great joy and gladness and, with her, went down the ladder. The admiral had had four ladders set side by side, joined together with wood, so that my Lady the Infanta and both the Infantes who were walking by her side went out by the ladders. And when they came down the ladder, at the foot of it, my Lady the Queen, her sister, and she, ran to embrace each other and remained thus embracing and kissing each other and weeping much, so that no one could part them. It was piteous to behold, and it was no

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wonder for, since they had seen each other, they had lost King Manfred and the Queen, their mother, and King Conradin and King Enzio, their uncles, and many other illustrious kinsmen. So at last the Infantes and the admiral separated them, and so the two, hand in hand, went up to the palace where the feast made for them was very great; and dinner was made ready and all were received and served very sumptuously. And before eating, the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to put the Prince into the castle of Matagrifon and to command knights to guard the counts and barons, each in his house, and to put the other persons in the common prisons. And as the Lord Infante had commanded, so it was done and fulfilled within two days.

After the feast was over the Lord Infante sent word to all the richs homens of Sicily, and to the knights and the citizens of towns and villages, that, from each place, there should come syndics with full powers. And he gave them a day, two months after the date of the letters, on which they should be at Messina. And he gave them such long notice in order that a messenger could first go to the Lord King of Aragon and return and bring his commands as to what it pleased him should be done with the Prince and with the other persons of importance. The other, lesser, men my Lady the Queen had had set free and had sent to their countries, as she had done with the others.

And at once the said Lord Infante and the admiral apparelled a galley and two knights whom they sent to the Lord King of Aragon and by whom they let him know how they had taken the Prince and put him into Matagrifon, under a good guard; and asked him to command what they should do with him and with the counts and barons likewise; and they sent the name of each in writing. And so the galley went and found the Lord King at Barcelona, who had already heard

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the news from the leny which the admiral sent them when the battle had been won. And, therefore, he had come to Barcelona, for he thought that there would shortly be other messengers from Sicily.

And when they came to Barcelona, they gave the salute, and so great a number of people had come to the square, their number was infinite. And all responded, so that it seemed the world was crumbling. And at once the messengers landed and went to the Lord King in the palace and kissed his feet and his hand and then gave him the letters they were bringing him and told him their message. And the Lord King received them with great gladness and had great refreshment given to the galley and, that same day, he dispatched it, so that, on the following day, they parted from him and within a few days came to Messina where they found my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and the admiral and gave them the letters which the Lord King was sending them. What he told them, that I cannot tell you; but the events that followed later on, in regard to the Prince and the other persons, showed that all the Lord Infante did with the Prince and the others was by the orders he had from the Lord King. So much wisdom was shown with regard to the Prince that everyone can recognize that it proceeded from the great wisdom which dwelt in the Lord King.[1]

[1] Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II, the Lame, was kept in captivity until November 1288, nearly four years after the death of his father.

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CHAPTER CXIV.

How Cortes were assembled in Messina and the Prince condemned to death; and how the Lord Infante En Jaime after the sentence of death had been published in all Sicily was moved by mercy and would not carry it out.

AFTER this the day had come when the court was assembled, on the day appointed, and the Lord Infante had a general council proclaimed: that everyone should come to the palace of Messina, as well those of the city generally, as everyone else, and richs homens and knights and syndics and representatives of all the lands of Sicily, and all the learned men. And when they were all assembled, the Lord Infante, who was of the wisest princes of the world, and of those who spoke best (and was so thereafter and is still and will be as long as he lives) rose and said: "Barons, We have assembled you here because, as you know, We hold here, in Our prison at Matagrifon, the Prince, eldest son of King Charles. Now you all know that King Charles, his father, took the spoils of the good King Manfred, Our grandfather and your natural lord, and how he died in battle, and with him King Enzio, his brother. Further, you know how King Conradin, Our uncle, came from Germany to avenge this death and this spoliation, and how, as it came to be God's pleasure he, also, and all his followers were defeated by the said King Charles. And you know that King Conradin came into his hands alive, and you know also that he perpetrated the greatest cruelty, king or son of king had ever done to so great a nobleman as was King Conradin (who was of the noblest blood of the world) when he caused his head to be cut off at Naples. And you can see how God will inflict punishment on him, and how He will take revenge for his great cruelty, for it is you who have suffered most hurt and

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dishonour by it of all peoples of the world, in the death of your natural lord and his brothers, and the loss of kinsmen and friends. And so, as it is God's pleasure that vengeance should come through you, he has put in your power the dearest thing that King Charles has in the world. Pass judgment on him and give him that sentence which seems most just to you." And upon this he went and sat down and micer Aleynep, who had been appointed to reply for all generally to what the Lord Infante should propose, rose and said: "Lord, we have heard well all you have said to us, and we know that all is indeed as you have put it before us, and we are grateful to God and to the Lord King of Aragon that it has pleased him to send us, as governor in his place, so wise a lord as you are. And as it is your pleasure, Lord, that by us vengeance be taken for the death and injury King Charles has inflicted on us, therefore, Lord I say, for myself, let the Prince suffer that death which his father gave King Conradin. And when I have said this, let each of the barons and the knights and syndics rise and, if it seems good to them, let them ratify it by a sentence and let it all be put at once in writing. And what each syndic says, let him say it for himself and for all the community he represents here. And if there is anyone who wishes to say otherwise, let him rise. I say this and confirm it for myself and for all belonging to me." And when he had said this he ceased to speak. And before any one rose, all the people of Messina rose and cried: "He has spoken well, he has spoken well, and we all say: 'Let him lose his head, and we ratify all micer Aleynep has said.'" And upon this the admiral, who knew beforehand how it would be, rose and said: "Barons, as micer Aleynep has said, let each rise separately, rich hom and knight and syndic, and let the speech and sentence of each be ratified by all, and then let it be set down in writing." And he called two

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notaries of the court of Messina, the oldest there, and two judges, and he told the judges to dictate the sentence and to the notaries to write down what each man said, for a permanent memorial. And so it was done and accomplished. And when all this was done, the admiral commanded it to be read in the presence of all; and when it was read and all had given this sentence, for themselves and for those whom they represented, the admiral asked all jointly if they confirmed this sentence and all answered: "Thus we wish it, and thus we ratify it for ourselves and for all the community of the island of Sicily."

And upon this they rose and went to dine, thinking that on the following day justice would be done. But the Lord Infante En Jaime, after the sentence was given and confirmed, wished to exercise mercy and did not wish to repay evil for evil; rather he remembered the words of the Gospel which says that God does not wish the death of the sinner but his conversion. Wherefore he did not wish for the death of the Prince but that, through him, peace and concord might ensue, and especially as he knew that he had no guilt in anything his father, King Charles, had done; but rather he had heard it said, and it was the truth, that he was much displeased at the death of King Conradin. And so also, it was certain that the Prince was a near kinsman of the Lord King, his father, and so he was his likewise.

CHAPTER CXV.

How the Lord Infante En Jaime sent the Prince, eldest son of King Charles, to Catalonia to the Lord King of Aragon, his father.

ON the following day the Lord Infante called the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, fit out the biggest Catalan

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ship that is here, and four galleys and two armed lenys, and We shall send the Prince to Barcelona, to the Lord King Our father." And the admiral said: "Lord, you say well; it shall be done at once." And so, as soon as the ship and the galley and the lenys were fitted out, they put the Prince on board under a good and well-ordered guard, and they left Messina and had fine weather, so that in a few days they came to Barcelona where they found the Lord King. And at once the Lord King ordered them to put the Prince into the new castle of Barcelona, and he appointed a good guard there.

And so I shall let the Prince be, who is in a good and safe place, and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral.

CHAPTER CXVI.

How the Lord Infante passed into Calabria and conquered it and also the Principality as far as Castellabate and captured many other cities and villages.

WHEN the Prince had embarked the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to have forty galleys fitted out, for he wished to pass into Calabria and to conduct the war in such wise that the Lord King, his father, should not be missed. And the admiral was very joyous, when he saw the Lord Infante En Jaime in such good disposition, and so bold and strenuous and, assuredly, he did not hold him back, but rather urged him on and said: "Lord, you say well; make your chivalry and your foot-soldiers get ready; as to the galleys, you can consider them ready." And so the Lord Infante had the host of all Catalans and Aragonese who were in Sicily summoned, except the officials who held the castles.

And in a few days everyone was ready in Messina

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and the Lord Infante passed into Calabria with as many as a thousand armed horse and about a hundred light horse, and he had numerous almugavars and retainers. And the admiral was ready with forty galleys, of which there were twenty with open poop; and in them went four hundred knights and many almugavars. And so with the favour of God, the Lord Infante went by land and the admiral by sea, taking cities, towns, castles and villages. What shall I tell you? If I wished to recount it all to you in order, as I have already told you at other times, I should not have enough paper. So many knightly deeds and feats of arms were done in each place they took, that in no history in the world would you hear greater nor more marvellous than were performed by the people who were with the Lord Infante and with the admiral. There were a hundred richs homens and Catalan and Aragonese knights in his retinue, of whose prowess and knightly deeds a greater romaunt could be made than that of Jaufre;[1] and instead of a hundred, one might say a thousand. And so it was likewise with the foot-soldiers. Of the admiral I need not speak to you; all his feats were marvellous, for he would hold himself to be deserving of death if, wherever feats of arms were performed, he did not excel everyone. What shall I tell you? So great was the capacity and the valour, and the chivalry of the Lord Infante En Jaime that, from the time he passed into Calabria until he returned to Sicily, it was seen that he had conquered all Calabria, failing only the castle of Stilaro which is on a great mountain near the sea. And besides Calabria, he conquered the Principality as far as Castellabate, which is thirty miles from Salerno, and also the island, as you have already heard, and Procida and Capri; and also, towards the sea, he took the city of Taranto and all the Principality

[1] The Provençal poem of Jaufre and Brumisende, dedicated to Pedro II of Aragon.—Bofarull.

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and all Cape Leuca and the city of Otranto and Lecce, which is twenty-four miles from Brindisi. And if one were to recount to you the feats performed at Otranto by the noble En Berenguer de Entenza, brother-in-law of the admiral, and by others, it would be marvellous to hear, for they harried all Apulia and the island of Corfu and the despotate of Arta, and Avlona, and Esclavonia. And as the ships which went in and out of Naples paid toll to the galleys of Ischia, which were there for the Lord King of Aragon, so did every ship or leny which entered the Gulf of Venice pay toll in the city of Otranto to those who were there for the Lord King and for the Lord Infante; except those vessels which issued from or entered the city of Venice, because the city and the communes of Venice were at peace with the Lord King of Aragon.

And let none of you wonder why I speak to you thus briefly of these great conquests, for I do this because books have already been made which speak in particular of each of these places and how they were taken; and, besides, the task would take long.

And when the Lord Infante had conquered all Calabria and all the other places he gave the said places to richs homens and knights of his, and to franklins and adalils and almugavars and to heads of the King's retainers, and left all the frontiers garrisoned. And then he returned to Sicily, where my Lady the Queen and the Infanta his aunt, and the Infante En Fadrique and all the people of Sicily had great joy and gladness; for, henceforth, the war was not felt in Sicily, because those on the frontiers in Calabria and the Principality and in Apulia conducted the war and made gain and came to spend it in Messina.

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CHAPTER CXVII.

How the admiral En Roger de Luria harried the Island of Jerba, and Romania, Scio, Corfu and Cefalonia; and how the Saracens of Jerba were absolved by the King of Tunis for having wished to surrender to the Lord King of Aragon.

AFTERWARDS, when the Lord Infante went to Messina, the admiral, by his leave, went to Barbary, to an island called Jerba which belonged to the King of Tunis; and he laid waste the said island and carried off more than ten thousand Saracen captives, male and female, whom he brought to Sicily and sent, some to Mallorca, and some to Catalonia; and he made so much gain that the expenses of the galleys and the cost of fitting them out were cleared. And afterwards, he made another expedition and went to Romania, and harried the islands of Mytilene and Lemnos and Thermia and Tinos and Andros and Mykonos, and then he harried the island of Chios, where mastic is made, and he took the city of Monemvasia, and returned to Sicily with so much gain that five such fleets as his might have been paid for out of it. And so also he raided the island of Corfu and burnt and pillaged all the region round the castle. And then he harried all Cefalonia and the Duchy. And all who had come with him became very rich; so that when they gambled they would admit no man at the table, unless he had gold coins, even if he brought a thousand marks they would not admit him.

Not much time passed before the admiral again ravaged the island of Jerba and carried off more people than he had done before. The Moors of Jerba went to their lord, the King of Tunis, and said to him: "Lord, thou seest that thou canst not defend us against the King of Aragon; but rather, because we trusted that thou wouldst defend us, we have been pillaged twice by the admiral of the King of Aragon, and have lost brothers

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and kinsmen and wives and sons and daughters. Therefore, Lord, be pleased to absolve us from our allegiance, so that we may put ourselves under his sovereignty and so we shall live in peace and thou wilt act well and mercifully by us. Otherwise, reckon upon it, Lord, that the island will be left uninhabited."

And to this the King of Tunis agreed and he absolved them; and they sent messengers to the Lord King of Aragon and surrendered to him and, for him, to the admiral. The admiral had a fine castle built, which was held and is and will always be held to the greater honour of Christians than any other castle in the world.

Jerba is an island half-way across Barbary; for, if you reckon well, it is as far from Jerba to Ceuta as from Jerba to Alexandria. And also, do not imagine that it is altogether an island, for it is so near the mainland that a hundred thousand horse and as many foot could pass across without the water reaching the girths, if that passage were not fortified and defended by Christians. Wherefore it is needful for whoever is commander at Jerba that he have four eyes and four ears and a strong and firm mind for many reasons; especially as the nearest help of Christians he has is at Messina, and it is five miles from Jerba to Messina. And so, also, because there are neighbours near Jerba, namely Gelinbre and Margam and Jacob Benatia and Bonbarquet and the Debeps and other Arab barons who all have great power of chivalry. And if the commander who is in Jerba closes his eyes in sleep, he will find full well one to wake him to his undoing.

And when the admiral had performed all these deeds he proceeded to have all his galleys repaired, because he heard that the King of France was having many galleys made. And so I must cease to speak to you of the admiral and must turn to speak to you again of the King of France and of King Charles and of their supporters.

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CHAPTER CXVIII.

How King Charles applied to the Pope and to the King of France, and went to Naples with two thousand knights; and how the said King Charles passed from this life and left the government of the Kingdom in the power of the sons of the Prince who was then in prison at Barcelona.

WHEN King Charles had heard the news, as well of the imprisonment of the Prince as of the battle of the counts and the events of Agosta and all the other damage he had taken and was taking every day, he bethought himself to apply to the Pope and then to the King of France, and proceeded to plot and set on foot all he could against the King of Aragon; and he decided to go to Naples, for he feared greatly it might rebel. And with him came the count of Artois and other counts and barons and knights; there were full two thousand. And they went so long on their journeys that they came to Naples; but they came there at such a time that, certainly, out of all the two thousand knights not two hundred returned to France, for all died in the war in Calabria and at Otranto. On one day alone there died at Otranto more than three hundred knights and so some died likewise in Taranto and, in the plain of Saint Martin, there died more than five hundred. What shall I tell you? They could not meet the Catalans and Aragonese anywhere without being killed or defeated. And this happened through the work of God, Who brought down their pride and exalted the humility of the Lord King of Aragon and of his sons and followers. And you can recognize this in the matter of the prisoners, whom, for the honour of God, they let go free. And it cannot be said that King Charles let go anyone who had come into his power or into that of his followers; but rather, when they took anyone, they cut off his

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hands and put out his eyes. And this, for a long time, the admiral and the other followers of the Lord King of Aragon suffered and endured; but, at last, seeing this great insolence the admiral resolved to cut off hands and put out eyes also. And when they saw this, they repented, yet not for the honour of God, nor from compassion, but from fear of the admiral. And thus it happens with many people, that more is obtained from them by ill-treatment, than by good. Wherefore it would be better for everyone to repent of his evil vice through love or fear of God, than when God casts His anger upon him.

What shall I tell you? Every day such news came to King Charles that it was said there never had been a lord in the world who, after such great prosperity as he had had, saw himself in such sorrow at the end of his life. Wherefore everyone should endeavour to preserve himself from the anger of God, for against the anger of God nothing can last. What shall I tell you? It pleased God Our Lord that he should end his days in this tribulation into which he had fallen and pass away from this life. And it can be said that when he died, there died the most accomplished knight of the world, after the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord King of Mallorca; and I only except these two. And so his territory was left in great trouble by reason of his death and because the Prince who should inherit his land was a prisoner in Barcelona. However, the Prince had many children and, amongst others, he had three grown-up sons, namely, monsenyer En Louis, who afterwards became a minorite friar, and later bishop of Toulouse and died a bishop and, to-day, is a saint, canonized by the Holy Apostolic Father, and his feast is celebrated in all Christian countries. And then there was another son, who was called and is still called Duke of Taranto.

Jan. 7th 1285

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And these three sons, with the count of Artois and with the other barons of noble birth, governed the country
1288 until their father, the Prince, came out of prison; for he came at the peace as you shall hear further on.

And so I must cease to speak to you of King Charles and of his grandchildren who are governing the country and must speak to you of the King of France.

CHAPTER CXIX.

How the King of France sent the legate of the Apostolic and the seneschal of Toulouse to the Lord King of Mallorca to arrange their passage through his territory; and how he arranged to invade Catalonia with all his forces by sea and by land.

WHEN the King of France had commanded the galleys to be built, and the victuals to be prepared in the districts of Toulouse and Carcassonne and of Beziers and of Narbonne, and also in the port of Marseilles and at Aigues Mortes and in the city of Narbonne, he sent the cardinal, who was Legate, and the seneschal of Toulouse to Montpellier, to arrange with the Lord King of Mallorca that they might have peaceful passage through his territory. And the Lord King of Mallorca went to Montpellier. And the cardinal admonished him and made him many offers on the part of the Holy Father, and so likewise did the seneschal on the part of the King of France. But their admonitions would have availed very little, had it not been for the agreement the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord King of Mallorca had come to at Gerona; according to the general opinion they had agreed for two reasons especially that the

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King of Mallorca should let them pass through his territory. Namely, the first reason was that he could not oppose the entrance into Roussillon in any way, and if they entered by force, Montpellier, Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne would be lost for ever. The other reason was that, if they did not enter that way, they would enter through Navarre or through Gascony, and would have a better entrance than through Roussillon; it is fully acknowledged in Roussillon that it is a difficult thing to invade Catalonia from that side. And so, for these reasons, the Lord King of Mallorca complied with the exhortations of the Pope and of the King of France. And so the cardinal and the seneschal went joyously to the King of France, for they already considered the point gained. And what they had said to the King of France they said also to Charles, King of the Hat, and sent to tell the Pope who had great joy thereat. And at once, the King of France had payment for six months made to richs homens and to knights and retainers and mariners and all other persons, for they had plenty of money and the treasure of Saint Peter, which had been collected for the passage beyond sea, was converted for use against the King of Aragon. Therefore you may imagine what fruit it will bear.

And when the Pope had made the King of France act, and spring had come, the oriflamme[1] issued out of Paris, and it was always estimated that when they came to Toulouse, there were, with the King of France, eighteen thousand armed horse and innumerable men

[1] The Oriflamme (Aurea flammula), the banner of the Kings of France, was originally the banner of the Abbey of St. Denis. It was made, according to the legend, out of the shroud of St. Denis and was of red cloth (hence the name) with five points, at each of which hung a tassel of green silk; it was fastened to a gilt staff. The ancient inventory of the abbey says: "Estandard d'un cendal fort espais, fendu par le milieu en forme d'un gonfanon, fort caduque, enveloppé autour d'un baston couvert d'un cuivre doré, et d'un fer longuet, aigu au bout."

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afoot. And by sea came a hundred and fifty large galleys and over a hundred and fifty ships with victuals, and lenys, terides and barges innumerable. What shall I tell you? The forces the King of France was bringing were so great that, amongst them, the power of God was ignored, for all said: "The King of France is bringing forces so great that he will take the dominion of En Pedro of Aragon at once." God was never acknowledged or named among them, but only the power of the King of France. But if you spoke to any man of the Lord King of Aragon and said: "What will become of the King of Aragon and his dominions?" all would answer: "God is mighty and will help him to his right." And so, all these invoked the power of God, and the others did not acknowledge Him in anything. Wherefore you shall hear how Our Lord and true God acted with His power, which is above all other powers, having pity on those who fear Him and showing Himself offended to the proud and those who ignore Him.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the King of France and of his forces which are at Toulouse and in all the district, and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER CXX.

How the Lord King En Pedro sent his messengers to his nephew King Sancho of Castile asking him for the aid of his chivalry; and how his followers collected at the Pass of Panisars to oppose the entrance of the King of France into Catalonia.

When the Lord King of Aragon knew that the King of France had issued out of Paris and had taken out the oriflamme and was coming with so great a force by sea and by land he, at once, sent his messengers

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to Castile, to his nephew King Sancho of Castile, and let him know with what forces the King of France was marching against him and that he requested him, by the covenant that was between them, to send him help of chivalry; and that, if he did, he might be sure that he would offer battle to the King of France.

And when the King of Castile had received this message, he told the messengers that they should return; that he would prepare himself in such manner to give aid to the Lord King, his uncle, that he would consider himself satisfied. But the answer was good and the deeds were nought; for, not with one knight or with one man afoot did he give aid; rather did the Lord King find himself totally deceived in him, as he had been in his brother-in-law, the King of France. And so, when he came to need them, he found himself forsaken by all his earthly friends. Wherefore he, as the wisest and most strenuous lord and the most accomplished knight of the world and the wisest, raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and true God, to Thee I commend my soul and my body and all my people and my dominions. And may it please Thee, as all those have failed me who should have aided me, that Thou, Lord, help me and be my support, mine and that of my followers." And he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them; and full of strenuousness and ardour in the love of Our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, he gave the order to saddle and every man to get ready and put on his armour; for he would put on his. So that, that day, he went about in armour in the city of Barcelona and made a great feast and rejoicing in honour of God and thus comforted the heart of his followers who wished to use their arms at once against their enemies; for each day, until they came, seemed a year to them.

And when this feast in Barcelona was over, the Lord

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King sent messengers throughout all Aragon to the Aragonese, to be on the watch that no damage might come to his dominions from Navarre or Gascony. And he sent his letter of summons throughout all Catalonia to the richs homens and to knights and citizens and to the towns, to command them to come armed to the Pass of Panisars on the day indicated, for he intended to oppose the King of France there and prevent his invading his territory. And all, when they had received the command, were at the Pass of Panisars, and there they pitched their tents, and so did the Lord Infante En Alfonso with a great number of knights of Catalonia. And when they were all assembled the Lord King ordained that the count of Ampurias with his followers should guard the Pass of Bañolas and the Pass of La Manzana. The count of Ampurias placed the host from Castellon on the Pass of Bañolas and others he placed on the Pass of La Manzana. And the count, with his knights, went visiting one and the other for more than half a league, and each of these places was so strong a pass that there was no fear anyone could get through. And besides this he put Perthus under the guard of viscount Rocaberti. And the Lord King, with all the other followers, was on the Pass of Panisars. And to each place merchants and others were appointed to bring for sale all that was needed. So that the passes were well guarded and garrisoned.

But I must cease to speak to you of the King of Aragon and his followers and must turn to speak to you of the King of France and of the King of Mallorca.

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CHAPTER CXXI.

How the King of France tried to get over the Pass of Panisars and of the great damage his followers took; and of the cruel way they behaved to the priests and people of Elne in their rage at what had befallen them.

WHEN the King of France had collected all his followers, 1285
and knew that all were furnished with all they needed and that, likewise, his fleet was ready and assembled (and this was in the year 1285, in the month of April) he proceeded to go to Roussillon. And when he entered Roussillon the Lord King of Mallorca issued forth to meet him. And the King of France made a great feast for the King of Mallorca, and so did the King of Mallorca for him and his sons, his nephews, who came with their father; namely monsenyer En Philip, his eldest son,[1] who had great grief and displeasure at what his father was doing, and the other, monsenyer En Charles, King of the Hat, who had great joy thereat, as he was to be King of Aragon. And so they, together, came to Perpignan. And all the host of the King of France was in tents from Perpignan to Boulou. Every day they of the King of Aragon's host raided right up to the tents, killing and taking many and doing them much damage. What shall I tell you? The King of France stayed there full fifteen days, not knowing what to do. But, one day, he decided to go on to the Pass of Panisars and to try and get through.

And, when he came to Boulou, he looked at the place over which he had to pass and saw all the mountain covered with the tents of the host of the Lord King of Aragon, and he cursed him who advised him to pass over it. So, one day, he tried to pass; but so mad an attempt men had never made. Suddenly, more than

[1] Afterwards Philip IV, le Bel, 1285—1314.

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fifty thousand men were upon them, almugavars and retainers, who attacked their van in such manner that you might have seen them fall and be precipitated down the mountain, man and horse. And they took so much damage that, that day, they lost more than a thousand horsemen and innumerable men afoot. And when the King of France saw his followers come back thus defeated and roughly handled and he could not assist them, he said: "Ah God, what is this? I have been traitor to myself." And then monsenyer En Philip turned to his brother Charles and said to him: "My fair brother, see now the people of your kingdom, with what honours they receive you!" And Charles answered nothing, so grieved was he; but the King of France, their father, who had heard all, answered very angrily: "Be silent now, Sir Philip, they are doing what they will repent of." "Ah, Sir, Sir," said monsenyer En Philip, "I grieve more for your honour and dishonour and your hurt than will the Pope and the cardinals who have procured this advantage for you and have made my brother King of the wind. For they, at their pastimes and diversions, care little for the peril and hurt which is prepared for you."

And the King of France said nothing, for well he knew that his son spoke the truth; but it was too late to repent. What shall I tell you? All the host had to turn toward Elne in order to be near the course of the river. And when the Lord King of Mallorca saw that the King of France was going towards the city of Elne, he sent his messengers to the people of Elne to tell them to receive the King of France with a procession. And so the bishop of Elne, with all the priests, issued forth to receive the King of France And instead of humbling themselves as they should before the crosses, the French attacked them and cut down all the priests and laymen and children and women, out of rage at what had befallen

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them. And behold, Lord, what their piety and faith in indulgences was, and how Our Lord and true God could not suffer this great cruelty without avenging it. When this was known throughout all Catalonia, it re-doubled the courage of everyone and they thought it would be better to die fighting against them, than that even one man should surrender to them.

And when this was done, there were full fifteen days when they did not know what to do; and all the fleet was at Colibre. What shall I tell you? The King of France intended to return, but it did not please God that they should escape so easily; but rather, He allowed them to pass on, in order that they should die in the power of their enemies.

CHAPTER CXXII.

How four monks showed the King of France the way into Catalonia over the Pass of Manzana, and how within four days they made a road so that the loaded carts went up by it.

Four monks, who were from Toulouse and were in a monastery near Argeles, went to the King of France, and one of them was the abbot of that place. They, therefore, belonged to that country, as that monastery is affiliated to the monastery of La Grasse, which is in the district of Narbonne; so that the abbot is always of that country. Therefore the sovereigns of Spain would be very wise if they did not suffer, in their dominions, a prelate who is not a natural subject of theirs. And he said to the King of France: "Lord, I and these other monks are natives of your country and your natural subjects. Wherefore, Lord, it would grieve us much that you should return with such great dishonour. And

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so, Lord, if it is your pleasure, we shall show you where you can pass. And it is the truth that the place is strong; but, owing to neglect, there are no people there who could oppose you. There are, at the most, fifty men and you, Lord, have many people with spades and hoes and picks and axes. Let one of your richs homens go at once with a thousand armed horse, and with many men afoot who are to go in front with the said implements, to make roads. And, in advance of them, some thousand foot-soldiers could go, in order that, if they are perceived, they could deal with the enemy; so that those who are making the roads need not desist from their work. And thus assuredly, Lord, you and all your followers will be able to pass over; for when you have a thousand men up there on the pass, do not fear that any one could take it from you; before they could do so, you and all your chivalry would have gone up." And the King of France said: "Abbot, how do you know this?" "Lord," said he, "because our men and our monks go to that place every day to get wood and lime. Sometimes, when men afoot have to pass into the county, they go this way. And this place, Lord, is called the Pass of Manzana. If you enquire of the count of Foix, who knows this country well, and of En Ramon Roger, you will find it is so." Said the King of France: "We shall not enquire of anyone, for We fully trust you; and so, to-night, We shall do all that is necessary."

And at once he called the count of Aymenart[1] who had a good company of horse and foot and the seneschal of Toulouse and he summoned them and bid them be ready at midnight to follow these friars with a thousand armed horse and with two thousand foot soldiers from Languedoc; and to take, incontinent, all there were in the host of men with spades and with hoes and picks

[1] ? Armagnac.

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and axes and cutlasses and to do what the friars would tell them. And so they did and carried it out. And when midnight came the count of Aymenart and the seneschal with all those people followed the friars and began to make roads. And as soon as they came to the mountain the two friars went in front with the foot soldiers, by the first path, and the abbot and the other friar with men from the monastery who knew all that mountain, remained with those who were making the roads. What shall I tell you? When dawn came the two thousand foot-soldiers were on the top of the pass and had not been perceived by those who were on guard there until they came upon them. But, assuredly owing to the bad watch they kept they were all cut down; for, of fifty who were there, not more than five escaped who raised the cry of alarm and fled towards the host of Castellon at the Pass of Bañolas. And when they of the host of Castellon heard the cry, they all seized their arms; but it happened that, at this juncture, the count of Ampurias had gone to Castellon to settle his villages and castles there; and the greater part of the chivalry and of the most expert men of Castellon had gone with him. However, those who were on guard on the Pass of Bañolas went towards the Pass of Manzana. And when they looked they saw a great congregation of people who had already come up and so they saw that henceforth they could do nothing. They decided to return to the Pass of Bañolas; and, beyond Tornavels where there were some men, they struck their tents and all went home. And, at once, they sent a message to the Lord King of Aragon, at the Pass of Panisars and let him know that the French had gone over the Pass of Manzana.

But the Lord King could not believe it and sent a thousand almugavars in that direction, and they found that the pass was already held by a great number of people. They said: "On no account will we go away

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without news; we will abide the night and, at dawn, we will attack them and must do them great damage, and we will take three or four alive with us who shall tell the Lord King of Aragon how it has happened." And they all thought it well and that day and night they did not show themselves.

Now I shall return to the hosts of the King of France where all was accomplished as the abbot and the monks had dictated. As soon as some of the chivalry had searched the top, they joyously sent messengers to the King of France to say that they had taken the pass without any hindrance and that the road was made in such manner that the carts could pass, and so, that he should come with all his host. What shall I tell you? When the King of France knew this he was very glad and, at once, proceeded to unfurl the oriflamme, and all the host prepared to go up. And see what power is; within four days they made a road, such as the loaded carts could go up by.

And when next day came, at dawn, the almugavars attacked them and the greatest clamour of the world arose in the host of the King of France, as they imagined the King of Aragon had come. And you might see armed horses and everyone rush down, for all thought they were lost, as they would have been, if only the three thousand almugavars had come. What shall I tell you? The two thousand retainers from Languedoc held firm all the time and took a height and, on it, defended themselves until it was day, for they would not abandon the pass. And when it was day it was seen that those who had done this were few, and there you might have seen feats of arms. But the lances and darts of the almugavars made play. What shall I tell you? The almugavars saw the great force which was there and which was coming up and that, already, there were more than a thousand armed horse. And they collected on a crest

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of the mountain and took with them more than ten worthy and honourable persons, and killed and hurled down more than a thousand horse and foot; and then they went their way and went to the Lord King of Aragon and recounted to him the whole matter and brought him the prisoners who recounted the event to him as it had happened.

And the Lord King sent a proclamation throughout his host, that all should strike the tents and return to their villages and so, at once, they carried out the commands of the Lord King. And he, with the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the count of Pallars and viscount Cardona and viscount Rocaberti and other richshomens and knights of Catalonia, went to Peralada. And when they were at Peralada a message came to them from the monastery of San Quirico (which is in the plain, beyond the mountain of the Pass of Manzana), that the King of France was at the said monastery with all his chivalry. What shall I tell you? The King of France stopped eight days in the said village of San Quirico, for he would not move until all his followers, horse and foot, and the carts and mules had gone over the pass; nor until he knew that his fleet was in the port of Rosas, which is the best port of Catalonia and the largest so that all the shipping in existence could lie in it. And this he did in order that victuals could not fail him.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

How the King of France marched to Peralada with all his forces and besieged it; and of the prowess in feats of arms of the Infante En Alfonso.

And when all had gone over the pass and were assembled at San Quirico, the host moved on in battle-array, in the order in which all would have to fight; and they

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marched in good order, in armour, and came straight to Peralada, and set up tents from Garriguella to Garriga, and from Garriga to Valguarnera and from Valguarnera to Puyamilot. And so they were in all that beautiful plain beyond Peralada and, assuredly, the host of the King of France could never be seen so well as it was seen from the town of Peralada. There was not a tent that could not be seen from the walls. When the Lord King of Aragon saw them thus all, he raised his eyes to Heaven and said, "Lord and true God, what is this I see before me? I did not imagine that, in all the world, so many people could assemble in one day." And so, likewise, he saw all the vessels enter the Bay of Rosas, in infinite numbers, and he spoke thus: "Lord and true God, may it please Thee not to forsake me; rather be Thy aid with me and with my followers." And as the Lord King of Aragon marvelled, so did all who saw this; the King of France himself and those who were with him were full of wonder, for they had never seen themselves thus assembled, for in that plain there is not one tree, but all is fields and arable land. Peralada is such that, on one side, to the middle of the town, is the plain of arable land, and on the other side are the streams which pass near the huerta which is an important one. And it was not wonderful if there was a great congregation of people, for there were more than twenty thousand armed horse in the pay of the King of France and of the Church, and more than two thousand men afoot. Besides, men on horseback and on foot had come, because of the indugences, for there were indulgences from punishment and guilt, so, for that reason, there were men in countless numbers.

When they had all settled down to the siege and had pitched their tents, and the fleet had taken the town of Rosas, they put their provisions into the houses. And the Lord King of Aragon told the Infante En Alfonso

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to take five hundred knights and a company of foot and to attack the host. And the Infante En Alfonso had the greatest joy in the world and called the count of Pallars and the count of Urgel and viscount Cardona and En Guillermo de Anglesola and viscount Rocaberti and told them to get ready, for he wished to attack the host at dawn; and all had great joy thereat. And the Lord King called the count of Ampurias (who had come to him as soon as he knew that the Frenchmen had gone over the pass) and the other richs homens, and said to them: "Barons, let us also arm ourselves and our horses and stay at the barriers, so that, if these others need help, we can give it them." "Lord," said the count and the others, "you say well."

In the morning, at dawn, the Lord Infante En Alfonso with the chivalry which had been ordained issued out of Peralada and attacked the host at one angle, as soon as it was daylight. And in the host a thousand armed horse were always on guard. And as soon as they had attacked, you would have seen tents collapse and the men afoot, full two thousand who had issued forth with them, kill people, break coffers, and set fire to huts. What shall I tell you? The shouts were loud, and the thousand armed knights of the guard came and then might you have seen feats of arms such that, in less than an hour, they of the Lord Infante had killed more than six hundred men of arms of the thousand of the guard. And not one would have escaped, if it had not been for the count of Foix and the count of Astarach and the seneschal of Mirepoix and En Jordan la Illa and En Roger de Comminge, and all the chivalry of Languedoc who observed this and came along very well armed and in order of battle. And do not imagine that they came along as our knights do, who come at the call, without one waiting for the other; rather these came in good step; like confident and expert

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knights offering battle they came towards the banner of the Lord Infante. And the Lord Infante, full of martial ardour, wished to attack, to throw himself upon them; but the count of Pallars would not consent to this. What shall I tell you? They would never have prevented him from attacking had not the count of Pallars come and taken hold of his bridle and said: "Ah, Lord, what do you wish to do? do not on any account lead us into a trap." And he courteously made him turn and they collected all their company.

And meanwhile the Lord King had issued from Peralada with the count of Ampurias and with the rest of the chivalry to receive the Lord Infante. What shall I tell you? They returned within the defences of Peralada in good order, and the last who entered with his banner was En Dalmau de Rocaberti who was Lord of Peralada and, together with him, was En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, with his banner; for they, together, commanded the rear. And by the mercy of God they entered very joyously, safe and sound, into Peralada without having lost more than three knights and some fifteen men and they had killed more than eight hundred knights and innumerable men afoot. What shall I tell you? They were so active that you might have seen hand-to-hand fights of knights and of men afoot every day; so that everyone marvelled.

And this lasted five days. No man was lost who went out of Peralada through the huerta, but any Frenchman or other man of the King of France's host who entered the huerta did so to his undoing and never came out again otherwise than dead or a prisoner. For the huerta of Peralada is the strongest there is in the world; no man can enter it without losing his way, if the inhabitants of Peralada wish him to lose it. No one

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can know the way across except those who are of the town, born and bred.

And I must recount to you a marvellous thing which is as certain as what everyone beholds with his own eyes.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

How a woman of Peralada dressed in a man's gown and armed with a lance and with a sword girded to her side and her shield on her arm, captured a fine French knight in armour.

THERE was a woman in Peralada whom I knew and saw who was called Na Mercadera, because she kept a shop. And she was a very clever woman and big and tall. And one day, whilst the host of the French was before Peralada, she issued from the town and went to a garden of hers to pick cabbages. And she put on a man's gown and took a lance and girded on a sword and carried a shield on her arm, and she went to the garden. And when she was there she heard small bells and she wondered and at once left off picking cabbages and went to whence the sound came, to see what it was. And she looked and saw, in the trench there was between her garden and another, a French knight on his horse, armed with bells on the poitral, and he was going hither and thither not knowing how to get out. And she, when she saw him, quickly took a step forward and thrust at him with her lance and hit him so hard on the thigh through the skirts that it passed through his thigh and the saddle and pricked the horse. And as soon as she had done this and the horse felt himself wounded, it bucked and reared, so that the knight would have fallen, if he had not been chained to the saddle. What shall I tell you? She took hold of her sword and aimed

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at another opening and wounded the horse in the head and it was stunned. What shall I tell you? She seized the horse by the reins and cried: "Knight, you are a dead man if you do not surrender." And the knight thought himself a dead man, he threw down the bordon he was carrying and surrendered to her, and she took the bordon, and then pulled out the lance which was sticking in his thigh and so she brought him in to Peralada. Of this thing the Lord King and the Lord Infante were very joyous and very content, and they made her relate many times how she had captured him. What shall I tell you? The knight and his arms were hers, and the knight paid a ransom of two hundred gold florins which she received. And thus you can see whether or not the anger of God was upon the French.

CHAPTER CXXV.

How the Lord King and the Infante En Alfonso and the richs homens and barons issued from Peralada to fortify the country; and of the great crime the almugavars committed in Peralada plundering and burning it.

WHEN those six days were over all the counts and richs homens and barons said to the Lord King that it was not well that he and the Infante should remain in Peralada, but that they should go and encourage the country; and also that the count of Ampurias and viscount Rocaberti should go and fortify their castles; because, from their castles, they could do much damage to the enemy. Besides, that En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, who had offered to aid and defend the city of Gerona should go and settle and garrison the said city and that it would suffice if two richs homens with their companies remained in Peralada.

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What shall I tell you? All this was ordained, and the Lord King wished the count of Pallars and En Guillem de Anglesola and A. de Cortsavi to remain in Peralada. And En Dalmau de Castellnou was then very young and was always with the Lord King of Aragon, and it might be reckoned that four richs homens remained in Peralada who were amongst the best knights of the world. And later it was ordained that A. de Cortsavi and En Dalmau de Castellnou should go and fortify their places, for there were enough in Peralada with the count of Pallars and En Guillem de Anglesola. And so, in the morning, on a beautiful clear day, the count of Ampurias went to his county to put his castles and other places in order. And viscount Cardona went to Gerona and entered it and cleared the city of women and children, and took into his company many worthy knights who loved him devotedly, and many worthy citizens, and he garrisoned the city and district of Gerona very well. And so likewise viscount Rocaberti went about fortifying his castles, and so did count Castellnou and En Gesbert also and so, also, the noble En Dalmau de Castellnou with A. de Cortsavi.

And when all this was settled everyone took leave, weeping, of the Lord King of Aragon who prepared to issue forth on the following day. And he had a general council assembled in Peralada and preached to them and said many good words to them, and comforted them and cheered them and urged them to do well and took leave and said that he and the Lord Infante would leave in the morning. And all, likewise, blessed him, weeping, and everyone went to kiss his hand and the hand of the Lord Infante. The notables of Peralada said to him: "Lord, fear not for this place, for it is a strong and fine place and well supplied with victuals and people; and with the favour of God, we shall do so much that we shall hold the King of France back, so that he cannot

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go on. But if he does, we shall close the barriers and the roads and cut off his supplies of victuals." And the Lord King was very grateful to them for what they had said.

What shall I tell you? The almugavars who were with the Lord King were full five thousand; and the Lord King had ordained that a thousand should remain in Peralada, whereat those who were ordered to remain with their company were much grieved, namely that they must remain inside. And it went to their hearts to think of the gain the others would make from the French in their raids, and they resolved they would remedy the grievance. You shall hear the great crime they committed: that when midnight came and the Lord King and the Lord Infante had issued out of Peralada and might be at Vilabertran or at Figueras, they set fire to the town in full a hundred places and cried: "Flee! Flee!" What shall I tell you? The worthy gentry and the good men who were lying abed and heard the cry of alarm and saw the town ablaze with fire, all ran to save a son or a daughter, and every man his wife or his children; and the almugavars proceeded to steal and plunder everything. What shall I tell you? The whole town was ablaze with fire and, besides the walls, not ten houses remained standing. And it was a great loss, for Peralada was a very ancient town and since the time of Charlemagne and Roland had never belonged to the Saracens, but rather it is the truth that Charlemagne built the monastery of San Quirico and endowed it at Peralada, although it is in another territory than Peralada and belongs to the county of Ampurias. And whilst the fire was raging in the town, all the people went out of it; no one remained except a good lady who was called Na Palomera, who went to the altar of Saint Mary, for whom she had a great devotion, and said she wished to die there. And her deeds were as good as her words, for love of Our Lady Saint Mary. And

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that night the King of France and all the host who saw the great fire, wondered and, all night, they sat their horses in armour. And when day broke and they saw all the town burning, they knew it was all forsaken, and they entered it and put out the fire as well as they could. And those who were good men regretted much that so beautiful and important a place was burnt, and so they were of two minds; the good men put out the fire and the wicked had kindled it. And so they came to the church and found that good woman who was embracing the image of Our Lady Saint Mary. And the wicked men from Picardy, who were the worst men of the host, came and cut down the good woman before the altar. And then they tied their riding-beasts to the altars and they committed many outrages, for which God repaid them well, as you shall hear further on.

And when the Lord King and the Lord Infante and all knew this, that the town of Peralada had been thus destroyed, they were greatly displeased; but the times were such that nothing could be done. Therefore whoever is King of Aragon is always bound to show great favour to the town of Peralada in general and, in particular, to every man who belongs to it; and so likewise, to the lord of Peralada who, as is well known, lost all he had in the service of the Lord King of Aragon. I and others, who lost a great part of what we had in that town, have not been able to return there since; rather we have gone about the world seeking our fortune, amidst much hard work and many perils we have passed through. Most of us have died in these wars of the House of Aragon.

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CHAPTER CXXVI.

How the count of Castellon with twenty notables went to ask the Lord King to tell them what he thought they should do about Castellon; and how the Lord King bid them go over to the King of France and absolved them from their allegiance.

WHEN the Lord King of Aragon had left Peralada and Vilabertran he took the road of Castellon by Salanca and went to Castellon where he found the count, who did not know what to do when he heard that Peralada had been burnt. Neither did the men of Castellon, for they all knew that, as Peralada was abandoned, they could not hold out against the forces of the King of France. But if Peralada had not been abandoned, they fully reckoned that they could have held out and that, between the two places, they could have done the enemy plenty of harm.

As soon as the notables knew that Peralada had been burnt by the almugavars they went to their lord, the count, and said to him: "Lord, tell the Lord King of Aragon who is coming that, if he and the knights wish to enter the town they can do so. But we do not wish any almugavars to set foot in it; for they would do with us as they did with Peralada. And we pray you to advise us as to what you wish us to do; for, if you wish it, we are ready and prepared to abandon Castellon and follow you with our wives and our children; and we, ourselves, will set fire to the town. We prefer to burn our town and carry away what we can, rather than that the almugavars should plunder us as they have done the worthy men of Peralada who, as they went out with their silver treasures or other goods, or their clothes, had them taken from them as soon as they were outside their gates. And so it should not please the Lord King nor you that they should do this to us." And the count answered and

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said to them: "Notables, I shall go out to meet the King, and let twenty of you go out too and speak for the whole town; and so we shall see what the Lord King wishes and commands. For I wish that all he desires be done." "Well said, Lord," answered the notables.

And the count rode at once and went with the twenty notables of Castellon and they found the Lord King, who was near by and drew him to one side and called also the Infante En Alfonso and richs homens who were there. And at once the good men began to say to their lord, the count, what they had told him already. And when the count had listened to them, and they had finished their argument, he said to the Lord King: "Lord, you have heard well what these notables have said to me and I, Lord, shall answer before you, what I answered in your absence; and I answered them thus: What you, Lord, wish to say, and the commands you give them and all the county, is what I wished to be carried out. And if you wish, Lord, that I myself, set fire to the town, it shall be done at once. Assuredly, whilst I have life, I will not depart from your way." And the Lord King answered: "We have heard well what these notables of Castellon have said to you; and We say to you and to them that We are so displeased at the destruction of Peralada that We would give ten times the value of Peralada that this deed were not done; but the times are such that nothing else can be expected from those who did this. And We acknowledge that We and Ours are bound for ever to give compensation to the Lord of Peralada and all the community. We know well that they have not lost their property through any fault of theirs; but rather is this war specially for Our affairs and those of Our sons, and not for anything which concerns them. Wherefore, before God and all the world, We hold Ourselves bound to make restitution. And if

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God gives Us life and brings Us with honour out of this war, We and Ours shall make full reparation to them and theirs. Then, if We hold Ourselves thus bound, how could We wish Castellon to be ruined? All of you may imagine that, on no account, would We wish it. And I grant them that, if Peralada had not been abandoned, Castellon could have held out; that both the towns, where there are many worthy people, and the villages outside could well be held, surrounded by the castles of Our own people; every day they would have given the enemy plenty to do. But since this disaster of Peralada has happened, We know that Castellon cannot hold out against the forces of the King of France. Wherefore I command and consent and tell you that you give leave to the notables of Castellon to surrender to the King of France and I absolve you and them of all you owe me, and you do the same with them." And so the count turned to the notables of Castellon and commanded and told them as the Lord King had bidden him. And if you have ever seen weeping and mourning it was there. And it was no wonder, for the parting was hard.

And so the Lord King, and the count with him, and the Lord Infante and all the company went to Gerona. And they of Castellon had a general council assembled and told them what they had done. And before they left the council they summoned the abbot of Rosas and the abbot of San Pedro, and sent them to the host of the King of France and to the cardinal and begged the cardinal to be the mediator between them and the King of France. And he said he would willingly be their mediator. The King of France and he were already more softened than they had been, when they reflected that they had been paying their followers for fully three months and, as yet, they had not obtained one place, neither by surrender nor by force. And this maddened them, for they had imagined that, as soon as they had

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got through the passes all the country would surrender to them; but they found quite the contrary; when the people came to know them better, they did not esteem them at all. In no kingdom of the world had this happened, except in Catalonia and Aragon and in the Kingdom of Valencia, that so great a congregation of people had marched against them, in spite of interdict and indulgences, and had not surrendered to them. Wherefore they thought themselves deceived in their opinion; they had not expected to have to fight so strong a people.

And so the cardinal became mediator between the notables of Castellon and the King of France, so that the King admitted them under the security and safe-guard of the crown of France, agreeing that they were not bound to him for anything more than they had been bound to the count. And besides, they obtained that all the gates should remain closed, except two, and they would let in no one of the host without a permit. And so he had full ten pennons given to them to put on the gates and on the walls as a token of security. And, again, the King of France granted them the great favour that, if peradventure, he should return without conquering the Kingdom of Aragon, when he had retreated over and beyond the Pass of Panisars, they should no longer be bound to him by any covenant between them. And so the abbots came to Castellon with this agreement.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

How the King of France laid siege to Gerona; and of the great wickedness and cruelty the admiral of the King of France's galleys committed at San Feliú.

WHEN this was done the King of France went to lay siege to Gerona. And the galleys came to San Feliú, but the

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ships and provisions were all in the port of Rosas for, as Castellon was theirs, they need fear nothing. When the admiral of the King of France's galleys came to San Feliú he found that all the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and he proclaimed that every man belonging to San Feliú who wished for alms should come, and he would give them alms. And, of the mean people, of the old and the poor, and the women and children many came to San Feliú. And when the admiral saw that no more were coming he had these people put into houses and said he would give them alms. And when they were inside he had the houses set on fire and burnt them all. Behold what his alms were! And you may imagine whether the smoke of this holocaust mounted to Heaven; I shall tell you nothing about the matter for it is too piteous and sad. God be blessed Who, though He allowed much, in the end took righteous vengeance for all.

Now I shall cease to speak of the King of France who has laid siege to Gerona and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

How the Lord King en Pedro garrisoned Besalú and the castles around Gerona whence his followers always did great damage to the host of the King of France; and of the valour of En Guillem Galceran de Cartella.

WHEN the Lord King of Aragon had set in order and garrisoned the city of Gerona and left there, as chief and head, En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona and, together with him, many honourable knights and citizens, and he saw that the King of France had pitched his tents and ordained the siege, he departed thence and went

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to Besalú and garrisoned the town well and also the castles which are around Gerona. The men the Lord King of Aragon had put into the castles and villages gave many bad mornings to the host, and they scattered and destroyed many a fine drove of cattle which was coming from Rosas to Gerona. So that the men of arms got so much from the French and destroyed and annihilated so many and performed so many feats of chivalry and of light troops against them that, as I have told you before in the case of Calabria, I should have too much to do were I to tell you all; wherefore I shall only tell you a summary. I tell you truly that they held the Frenchmen so closely that they could not go to fetch grass or wood without many armed horse pursuing them. And so, likewise, those inside made sorties, but they gave them plenty of bad times, for there was no day on which they did not make them get up from their meals three or four times, nor did they let them have a good sleep. Neither eating nor sleeping did them any good. And it may well be seen that the anger of God was upon them, for they were attacked by so much sickness that it was the greatest pestilence God had ever sent to any people.

And the Lord King had garrisoned Besalú and the other places around Gerona and had left all the almugavars and retainers on that frontier (and do not imagine that there were but a few, rather there were in Gerona full fifty thousand, between almugavars and retainers, and full five hundred knights and full five hundred other horsemen). In such manner did he leave the frontier garrisoned that never was a host in greater straits than that of the King of France. Never did followers make so much gain as did those the Lord King had left opposed to the French. And of those within, also, great marvels could be related to you, of their feats against the host of the King of France.

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So the Lord King of Aragon had left all this in good order and had left, as chief of all the people, the Lord Infante En Alfonso and, with him, viscount Rocaberti and viscount Castellnou and A. de Cortsavi and En Galceran de Cartella, lord of Hostalés and of Pontons, of whom it can be said that he was one of the most accomplished knights there ever was in Spain ; and he proved this full well in Calabria many times, and in Sicily, where he had been. Victory was always obtained with the help of God, by his advice and his dispositions. And of this rich hom, En Guillem Galceran, as great a book could be made relating his prowess, as was made of Lancelot of the Lake. And it could be seen that God loved him, for he became alcaide of Barbary and performed there many feats of arms, and then passed over with the Lord King to Collo and into Sicily, where he fought, as I have told you already, in all the engagements. The Lord King of Aragon made him count of Catanzaro for his prowess. And God showed him so much favour that he bore arms until he was ninety years old, and then came to die amongst his people, in his own house, in his place of Hostalés, in the room in which he had been born.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

How En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol with the assent of the Lord King of Aragon resolved to capture with eleven galleys and two lenys, twenty-five galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas ; and how the Lord King sent to Naples for the admiral.

And so, when the Lord King of Aragon saw that he had thus well ordained the frontier and that the matter of the war was likewise very well settled with expert people, and that they would give plenty to do to his enemies, he went to Barcelona. And when he was at Barcelona

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he summoned En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol and said to them: "Notables, what have you done?" "Lord," said they, "you will find twelve galleys and four armed lenys equipped; namely the ten new galleys that you ordered to be made and two old ones which were here, which we have had repaired."

Said the Lord King: "You have done well; now say what you intend to do with these galleys?" "Lord," said En Ramon Marquet, "we will tell you. It is the truth that we have had and have our spies in Rosas and Cadaqués. The French hold both these places. And so likewise we have some in San Feliú, and we have learnt for certain that the galleys of the King of France are altogether a hundred and sixty, of which the admiral of the King of France has ordained that sixty, well-armed, should always remain with him at San Feliú. And under his vice-admiral, fifty armed galleys come and go with victuals between San Feliú and Rosas; and they do nothing else but load with victuals many barges and lenys which come with them from Rosas to San Feliú and then return with them. And, besides, they have sent twenty-five to Narbonne and to Aiguesmortes and to Marseilles, to bring victuals, so that the ships and lenys never cease to come and go for any reason. The remaining twenty-five stop at Rosas, well armed and well apparelled to guard the port; and an expert knight called En G. de Lodève is commander of them. And thus, Lord, are the galleys ordained by the admiral of the King of France; and we have thought that if you, Lord, wish it, we shall put out to sea with these twelve galleys and lenys of ours. And when we are off Cape Creus we shall go out to sea and cruise about and at night we shall draw near Cadaqués. And I have arranged with En Gras, who is the principal man in Cadaqués, that two nephews he has, who were brought up with me, should be every night at the point of Port Ligat. And there I

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shall have news of them, for I have arranged that En Gras has four men who do nothing else but come and go between Rosas and Cadaqués, and who tell him every day what is being done there. And we know that the fifty galleys have left San Feliú to go to Rosas full four days ago and when they are at Rosas they are usually despatched again within five days. And as soon as we have news of all this we shall enter the Bay of Rosas and, at dawn, we shall attack the twenty-five galleys. And when we are at the point of the port, with the favour of God, and with your good luck, we shall have them or we shall remain there. For be sure, Lord, that we go there with the determination that either we all remain there and are cut to pieces, or we take them. The mercy of God is so great, and the good right you and we, Lord, maintain, that nothing will make us believe He will fail us, but rather will He humble the pride and wickedness of those bad people. Therefore, Lord, commend us to God and let us go, so that we can depart to-morrow."

And the Lord King was much pleased with the great endeavours of these notables and saw that it was all the work of God, for it did not seem that they were men who would resolve on so great an enterprise. And with a kind countenance and laughing, he answered them and said: "Notables, We are very pleased with you and with your good sense and daring; and it is Our pleasure that it be as you have planned; so, put your trust always in God, and God will bring Us and you honour out of these doings and all others, for such is the power of God. But, Notables, though it grieves Us, We shall have to deprive you of the first galley and of the two lenys, which We wish to send to Sicily to the Queen and to the Infante En Jaime and to the admiral, to let them all know Our position; they will take orders to the admiral to come incontinent with fifty or sixty armed galleys, and you shall send to tell him, on your part and by your

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instructions, what course he should take and how he should guide himself and that on no account he should tarry. And let him know the dispositions the admiral of the King of France has made, so that with the favour of God, after the galleys have separated, we shall fall upon them. And if they lose the sea, then they will also lose the land and their lives. And now, Notables, you can see if it has happened as We told you; that, because they of the King of France knew that we have few galleys, they divided theirs, which they would not have done if we had had fifty galleys. And so with the favour of God and His aid our plan will succeed. And We wish the galley to go by the middle of the gulf and not to go near Barbary nor Sardinia. And one of the armed lenys is to go by Barbary and the other by Sardinia and so, by one or the other, they will receive Our commands; for both will carry identical letters. And have them all dispatched between now and to-morrow night, so that they can depart. And We shall command Our Chancellor to have such letters written as you shall require. And We will now, at once, command the letters to be written which We shall send to the Queen and to the Infante En Jaime, and to the admiral, and We shall bid them give credit to your letters as to Our own; and that what you advise the admiral to do in respect of his coming, that he should do, and make no change in it in any way." "Lord," said they, "do not let it grieve you that you take the galley and the two lenys from us. What you have planned is well imagined and we, with the favour of God, shall do as much without the galley and the two lenys as we should with them."

And so the Lord King summoned the chancellor and ordered his letters and commanded the Admiral to do all that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol would tell him; and he bid him come at once with fifty or sixty armed galleys and on no account to delay,

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under penalty of losing his favour. And so the letters were made out that day and all closed and sealed. And besides, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol wrote to the admiral, in the name of the Lord King and as being also their advice, to shape his course for Cabrera and, when he was at Cabrera, to send a leny to Barcelona, which should, however, give no news of him; but the messenger should go to the house of En Ramon Marquet and there he would find the said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol who would tell him what to do and what course to take. And if they were not in Barcelona, he would find as good instructions left by them as if they had been there. And so they did. And so the galley and the two lenys assembled and the men took leave of the Lord King and of all their friends and all prepared to follow the course indicated to them. And they went with the grace of God.

CHAPTER CXXX.

How En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol took leave of the Lord King of Aragon to go and capture the twenty-five galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas; and how they defeated and took them all.

AND when they had departed no one knew why they went, except the Lord King and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and the chancellor and the clerk who wrote the letters. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol embarked in the eleven galleys and two lenys which were left. And you may believe that never were eleven galleys better manned by so many good seamen without knights, for there were none, nor sons of knights. And they took leave of the Lord King, who made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed

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them and commended them to God's keeping. And they embarked and rowed out to sea, appearing to steer for Sicily. And when they had embarked and were out at sea in such manner that none could see them from Catalonia, and the breeze had become a fine west wind, they hoisted their sails and took their course for Cape Creus. What shall I tell you? In the course of that day and night and the following day they were in the waters of Cape Creus, about twenty-five miles at sea, off the Cape. And when the sun had set, they sailed nearer the land and shaped their course for Cadaqués; the breeze outside was south-east, so that at the hour of the bona paraula they were at two small islands near Cadaqués.[1]

And at once En Ramon Marquet had two cousins-german of En Gras, who were with him, put on shore by one of the lenys at the point of the harbour of Ligat; and these had already agreed with En Gras what signal they would make when they met his two nephews there. And this En Gras was able to do, for he was lord and governor of Cadaqués for the count of Ampurias, and so he was likewise for the King of France. And what he was doing, he did by the order of his lord, the count of Ampurias; and so he who is head or chief of a town or of a castle can do as he likes, by night or by day. Wherefore these two nephews of his and these two kinsmen of his who had come with En Ramon Marquet could do their business quite secretly, for they had nothing to fear. And when these kinsmen of En Gras had come to Cardaqués and had made their signal, at once the two nephews of En Gras went to meet them, and together with them went to En Ramon Marquet and to En Berenguer Mallol. And, as God wished to promote the affairs of the Lord King of Aragon and to overthrow the pride of the French, their coming was so well timed that

[1] Masina and Fredosa.

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there was nothing more to be done. And as soon as En Ramon Marquet saw these two cousins, he said to them: "Barons, you are welcome; what can you tell me of our enemies?" "Lord, be assured that no man could ever have come at a better time than you have. Know that, yesterday morning, the fifty galleys departed from Rosas with many barges and lenys and put out to sea with the land breeze, but changed their course and, yesterday, they were sailing all day, so that we reckon that they have passed Cape Aiguafreda." Now said En Ramon Marquet: "What can you tell us of Rosas?" "Lord," said one of those two cousins of En Gras, "I was at Rosas yesterday and, when the fifty galleys had departed thence, there did not remain more than twenty-five, which certainly are well equipped and well manned with knights and seamen and expert people, and they guard the port, and their captain is a nobleman from Provence, En G. de Lodève." Now said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol: "And at night—where are they?" "Lord," said he, "every night, when they have saluted the sun, they go to the outer point of the port and remain hove to, and so they remain until sunrise next day. And thus they are every day, according to this rule they have; for I have been in the galleys more than ten nights, at several times, with acquaintances I have there, and I saw that they always keep the same order." "Then, Notables, what do you advise us to do?" "We pray you," said they, "as you will go there and fight them, that it please you that we go with you; for, assuredly, if you are determined on it, they will all be yours, with the help of God." "Barons," said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, "it is enough that these two cousins-german of yours be with us; it would not be well that you should leave your uncle En Gras. And be sure that, if God shows us favour or mercy, you will have a better part than if you

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were with us. And so go with good luck, for we shall be at them in the morning, with the aid of God Who will be with us. And greet your uncle from us." "Lord," said they, "you would do us a much greater favour if you took us with you." But En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said: "We shall certainly not do that, for it is not in battles that men are born, and we do not wish, on any account, that the notable En Gras see you engaged in anything but what is pleasing to him." And with that they commended them to God and the two young men recounted to En Gras, their uncle, what they had done and said. And the notable, En Gras said: "Ah, Lord, true and blessed God, Who art truth and justice, aid them and give them victory and defend them from all evil." And when he had said this his two nephews took twenty followers and went along the shore to where they could see the battle.

And the galleys began to row at dawn and they came upon the twenty-five galleys. And two lenys of En Guillem de Lodève, which were on guard, had seen and counted the galleys and, at once, came to him and said: "Lord, get up, and make your followers arm themselves, for you can see from here eleven galleys and two lenys coming; and, assuredly, they are the eleven galleys and two lenys of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol of which we have had news that they had left Barcelona." And, at once, En Guillem de Lodève had the trumpets and the nakers sounded, and made every man arm. And meanwhile, day broke and the galleys saw each other. And En Guillem de Lodève had the sails unfurled and steered for the eleven galleys which were outside, in order that they should not come near the shore. And he came at them with fifteen galleys lashed together and ten following astern in the intervals between them in such wise that none could escape them. And, assuredly, he ordered them wisely. And En Ramon

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Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had their galleys lashed together with long ropes and they made fast all the oars with long ropes, in order that the enemy should not be able to get between them until they wished them to, and until they loosened the oars and came to a hand-to-hand fight And so it was done.

And, assuredly, I wish you all to know (and he who tells you this has been in many battles) that on the enlisted cross-bowmen depends the issue of the battle after the galleys tie up the oars. Wherefore always, whoever is admiral or commander of Catalan galleys, will do wisely not to carry tersols in the galleys, but enlisted cross-bowmen, so that the cross-bowmen are rested and keep their cross-bows in good repair and their bolts well feathered. And whilst the galley-slaves row, the cross-bowmen are occupied with their cross-bows, for all Catalan cross-bowmen are people who can renovate a cross-bow and everyone of them knows how to put it together, and how to make light darts and bolts and how to twist and tie the string, and he understands all that pertains to a cross-bow. Catalans do not consider anyone a cross-bowman unless he knows how to make everything, from the beginning to the end, of what pertains to a cross-bow. And so he carries all his tools in a box, and it is as if he had a workshop. And no other people do this, but the Catalans learn it at their mothers' breasts, and the other people of the world do not. Wherefore the Catalans are the most superior cross-bowmen of the world. Therefore the admirals and commanders of the Catalan fleets should give every opportunity not to lose this singular aptitude which is not found in other people, but should make their men practise it. Therefore it is not necessary that the cross-bowmen row like tersols; or, if they do, they lose their dexterity with the cross-bow. And, besides, the enlisted cross-bowmen do another useful thing; when they see that a sailor in the topmast or

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a man rowing on his bench is tired and wants to eat or drink, he will come forward and will ply his oar for pleasure, until the other man has done what he wished or is refreshed. And thus all cross-bowmen go rested and fresh and make the crew keep fresh. I do not say that, in a fleet, there should not be ten galleys in a hundred with tersols, in order that these might overtake any galleys they come upon. And so it is enough that we should have twenty-two and no more.

And so the notables, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, had experience of this and manœuvred according to the way Catalan galleys should be manœuvred. And so the galleys were poop by poop, and the other ten were astern of them, and noone could enter between, on account of the oars which were lashed together; and in bows and stern you might have seen lances and darts flung by the hand of Catalans which went through whatever they reached and, besides, the cross-bowmen shot in such manner that not one dart missed. And they of the galleys of En Guillem de Lodève remained sword or bordon in hand, unable to do anything, or if anyone took up a lance or a dart, he knew so little about it that he would as soon use the staff as the iron. And the battle lasted so long that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw that the decks of the enemy's galleys had been in great part cleared by the cross-bowmen who had been dealing mortal wounds, and those who were still left on deck were men of rank, and were more in need of doctors than of fighting. And when they had seen this, they had the trumpet of their galley sounded. It was the signal agreed upon that, as soon as the trumpet of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sounded, everyone should ship the oars and go amongst the enemy. And so it was done. And when the galleys were mingled you might have seen thrusts of bordons and swords and blows given with maces; and the enlisted cross-bowmen

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dropped their cross-bows and rushed at their enemies to fight hand-to-hand. What should I tell you? The battle was hard and cruel after they had come together; but, in the end, the Catalans, with the aid of God Who was with them, were victorious, so that they took all the galleys. And assuredly, there died in the battle, on the side of En Guillem de Lodève, more than four thousand men, and of the Catalans about a hundred and no more.

And so when they had won the battle and taken En G. de Lodève and some other knights (but few had remained alive and they badly wounded), they towed the galleys outside. And when they were outside they came to a point which is near Cadaqués; and there the men went on shore and refreshed themselves, with great joy and gladness at the great booty they had taken. And the two nephews of En Gras, with the twenty followers, came to them; and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent En Gras a thousand gold florins and another thousand to his nephews. And this they did without any of the twenty followers knowing anything about it; rather, as they approached them, they asked for a safe-conduct, as if they had never known each other. And this was done in order that none of the twenty followers should be able to denounce them. And their two cousins who were in the galleys had made much gain; but besides the gain they had made En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol gave them each two hundred gold florins and other things. And so the nephews of En Gras went to Cadaqués, joyous and content, and gave their uncle the thousand florins and recounted the whole event to him. And the notable had great joy and great content thereat; but he did not dare to let it appear at all.

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CHAPTER CXXXI.

How when the prisoners had been identified and the people of En Ramon Marquet refreshed and they were about to embark, the fifty galleys of the admiral of the King of France having had news of the capture of his galleys overtook En Ramon Marquet but could not capture him.

AND when the people of the galleys were refreshed, and had identified all the people they held prisoners, and what they had taken, the trumpet sounded and they proceeded to embark. Now it is the truth that, whilst the battle was going on at Rosas, two armed barges went to the fifty galleys to tell them of the event. They overtook the fifty galleys beyond Cape Aiguafreda, in a creek called Tamariu, which is the landing place of Palafrugell, and they told them this news. And the fifty galleys returned towards Rosas, and when they had passed Cape Aiguafreda they saw the galleys at sea, towing the twenty-five galleys, and they continued on their own course. And En Ramon Marquet was of the best mariners of the world and foresaw all that came to pass; that the men of Rosas would send barges to warn the fifty galleys to return. Wherefore, at night, he put out to sea with the landbreeze, as far as the breeze carried him, so that, if the fifty galleys came upon him as the wind changed, they would come astern. And so it happened. And when the fifty galleys had sight of them, as I have told you before, they pursued their course rowing, for they were well armed. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw them and thought that, if they towed all the twenty-five galleys, they would not be able to escape. And the breeze veered to out at sea and twenty-two galleys and two lenys set sail and left the others, and held themselves to the wind as well as they could. The fifty galleys who saw this and that the wind had freshened,

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thought that they could never take them, for they had much the advantage of them, being to windward. And so, with much grief, they returned to Rosas, where they found ships and lenys abandoned. So that, if there had only been more Catalan galleys, they would have burnt and destroyed all the shipping. And so they strengthened the place and left another twenty-five galleys there, and the other twenty-five went to San Feliú with those barges and lenys they had left at Tamariu.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

How the King of France and all his followers were much displeased when they received the news that they had lost twenty-five galleys; and how the said King was angry with the cardinal because he had plotted and arranged this war.

AND when the King of France and the cardinal knew all this they thought themselves dead men; and said the cardinal: "What demons are these who do us so much damage?" Said the King of France: "Cardinal, these are the people of the world most loyal to their lord; for you could cut off their heads before they would allow their lord, the King of Aragon, to lose his dominions. And so, by sea and by land, you may see many such defeats. Therefore I tell you, We and you have undertaken a mad enterprise. And you are partly the cause of this event, for you have plotted and negotiated with Our uncle King Charles; and these people and their feats have caused him to die of grief. God grant that We have not the same fate as he." And the cardinal did not know what to say, for he knew well that what the King of France had said to him was the truth; and so they said no more. And I need not tell you what

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dread the admiral of the King of France felt when he knew all; however, he arranged that when the fifty galleys went from San Feliú to Rosas he would go there also and would come with eighty-five galleys; and that the twenty-five should remain all the time at Rosas, and so it was done henceforth. Wherefore the admiral, En Roger de Luria, would have to fight against more at a time than the Lord King of Aragon and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had expected. And so I must let the admiral of the King of France be and turn again to speak of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and of their good seamanship.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

How En Ramon Marquet, with the twenty-two galleys, shaped his course for Barcelona; and how the inhabitants of the city, recognizing him, had great joy and gladness; and how the galleys were repaired and every man was paid for four months.

WHEN En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw that the galleys had desisted from their pursuit, they crowded on sail and bore away from the host and steered for Barcelona. What shall I tell you? At the end of that day and night and next day, at the hour of tierce,[1] they were in sight of Barcelona. And when they of the city saw them they feared greatly that the twenty-one galleys had been lost; indeed, all were full of apprehension. But the Lord King, who was more concerned than anyone else, came to the shore on horseback, with much chivalry, and looked at the galleys and counted twenty-two big sails and two lenys. And he said: "Barons, be of good cheer and joyous,

[1] 9 a.m.

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for these are our galleys, bringing twenty-one others; and see their two lenys which they are bringing." And all looked and counted them and were convinced. And meanwhile the two lenys came ashore and went to the Lord King who, they knew, was on the seashore, and told him the good news. And the Lord King had good reward given them for the good news.

And when the galleys were near the land they unshipped their masts and beached the galleys, together with the others, towing them stern foremost and trailing the pennons. And the feast was great which was made in Barcelona, and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol went to meet the Lord King and kissed his foot. And the Lord King stooped and embraced them and received them with gracious looks and countenance. And they said: "Lord, what do you command us to do?" "I tell you," said the Lord King, "leave to every man what he has taken and make no inquiry into it whatever. And the galleys and the prisoners are Ours, and the rest be yours. Divide that yourselves and give what seems right to you to the worthy tersols who were with you." And upon this they kissed his foot and very joyously returned to the galleys, and told everyone the favour the Lord King was granting them. And all began to shout: "Lord, God grant you life." And everyone went openly on shore with what he had obtained.

And when this was done En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol went to the Lord King and said: "Lord, if you think it well we will have the twenty-two galleys pulled on shore and will have them repaired; for all need repairing." And the Lord King said: "You say well, but have at once Our standard set up at the table, and proceed to give every man four months' pay; and when the galleys are repaired, have them fitted out, so that, if the admiral comes, you can go

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with him." "Lord," said they, "this shall be done, and be of good cheer henceforth, for if the admiral does not come, we, with the aid of God, will destroy them all with these twenty-two galleys." Said the Lord King: "May it please God that this be done." And so they proceeded to pull the galleys on shore to have them repaired, and to set up a table and pay the men for four months.

And when he had ordained this the Lord King issued from Barcelona and returned to where the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the chiefs and knights and other people were, whom he had left on the frontier; and he went from one to the other with a few men afoot, to see what they were doing.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

How the Lord King of Aragon fought on the day of Saint Mary in August with two hundred almugavars against four hundred French knights who were in ambush with the count of Nevers; and how he defeated them and killed the said count.

On the day in August of Our Lady Saint Mary, as he was going towards Besalú, he happened upon an ambuscade of four hundred French knights, who had been put in ambush because a convoy with provisions was coming to the host from Rosas. And men on horseback and on foot always attacked them in that place and therefore they occupied it in the night, in order to punish them.

And the Lord King was going along, speaking of how he had seen that his people in every place on the frontier had riches and plenty through the many forays they made every day against the French, killing many and making infinite gain, so that all were cheerful and

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content. And as the Lord King was going along thus carelessly God, Who does nought but for the best and wished to preserve the Lord King from death or prison, granted that the almugavars, of whom there were about two hundred with him and who were going along the ravines of the mountain, started two or three hares, and as the hares started, the almugavars began to scream and shout loudly. And the Lord King and those who were with him, who were about sixty men on horseback, at once seized their arms, imagining that the others had seen chivalry. And the French who were in hiding imagined that they had been discovered and so, at once, came out of the ambush. And the Lord King, who saw them, said: "Barons, let us act prudently; let us join our men afoot, for there are many knights here who are in ambush waiting for us. And so all prepare to do well for, with the aid of Our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, we shall perform a deed to-day of which the whole world will speak." And all answered: "Lord, do us the grace and favour to go up this mountain, so that your person, Lord, be safe, for we fear nothing, but only for your person; and when you are there, you will see what we are doing." Said the Lord King: "God forbid that We should take another path because of them."

And at once some of the almugavars who were near the Lord King collected round him, but there were not more than a hundred when they attacked. And they broke the lances in half. And the Lord King was the first to rush on, and he attacked the first man he encountered with his lance, in the middle of his shield, in such manner that the man had no need to seek a doctor. And then he drew his sword and lay about here and there, and opened a way for himself, so that none of them, when they had recognised him by his mode of attack, dared to await him for a direct blow.

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And the others who were with him did so well that no knights could perform greater feats of chivalry than they did. Of the almugavars, it is right I should tell you that they went at them with shortened lances in such manner that there was no horse left that was not disabled. And this they did when they had spent all their darts, for you may believe that there was no one who, with his dart, had not killed a knight or a horse. And then, with the shortened lances they did marvels. And the Lord King was now here, now there, now on the right, now on the left, and fought so hard with his sword that it broke all to pieces. And at once he seized his mace, with which he attacked better than any man in the world. And he approached the count of Nevers, who was chief of that company, and with his mace gave him such a blow on the helmet that he felled him to the ground. And at once he turned and said to a gallant youth who never left his side, who was called En G. Escriva and came from Játiva, and who was riding a horse with a light saddle: "Guillem, dismount and kill him." And the young man set foot on the ground and killed him. And when he had killed him, to his undoing, the sword the count was carrying, which was very richly ornamented, caught his eye and he unfastened it; and whilst he was unfastening it, a knight of the dead count, seeing that this youth had killed his lord, rushed at him and gave him such a blow on the shoulders that he killed him. And the Lord King turned and seeing that this knight had killed Guillem Escriva, gave him such a blow of his mace on his iron cap that his brains came out at his ears and he fell dead to the ground. And in this place, because of the count who had been killed, you might have seen blows given and taken. And the Lord King who saw his followers so hard pressed, rushed upon his enemies and made room for himself, for he, altogether, killed with his own hand more than fifteen knights;

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for, believe me, those he reached needed not more than one blow.

And in this press a French knight, seeing that the Lord King was doing them so much injury, came towards him sword in hand and cut his reins so that, for this reason, the Lord King was nearly lost. Wherefore no knight should go to a fight without two pairs of reins, one pair of chain and the other of leather, and those of chain should be covered with leather. What shall I tell you? That the Lord King was helpless; the horse carried him hither and thither; but four almugavars, who were keeping near the Lord King, approached him and tied his reins. And the Lord King kept this knight who had cut his reins well in mind, and went towards where he was and paid him for this pleasure he had done him in such manner that he could never cut any more reins, but was killed like his lord. And then, when the Lord King had returned into the throng, you might have seen attack and assault; there were richs homens and knights in the company of the Lord King who had never been at feats of arms before, and everyone on this day did marvels on his own account. What should I tell you about it? There was a young knight from Trapani, called En Palerm Abat[1] whom the Lord King had received in his house in Sicily, who had never found himself present at feats of arms, yet did as much as Roland would have done, had he been alive. And all this came of the great love they had for the Lord King, and of what they saw him do with his own hands; for what the Lord King did was not knight's work but truly the work of God. For not Galahad, nor Tristan, nor Lancelot, nor the other knights of the Table Round, if they had been with as few followers as the Lord King, could have done as much

[1] Moisé calls him Palmeri dell' Abbate and Buchon, Palmieri Abbate. Both he and his brother afterwards turned traitors to the cause of Aragon.

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in one day as the Lord King and those with him did against four hundred knights as expert as these were, who were the flower of the French host. What should I tell you about it? The French wished to collect on a height, but the Lord King rushed towards him who was carrying the banner of the count and gave him such a blow on the helmet with his mace that he felled him dead and cold to the ground. And the almugavars at once tore the banner of the host to pieces.

And the French, who saw the banner of their lord on the ground, collected in close formation, and the Lord King went to attack amongst them with all his men. What shall I tell you? The French had seized a hillock and were so close together that neither the Lord King nor any of his followers could penetrate amongst them. Nevertheless the battle lasted until it was vesper-time and dark; and of the French there were not left more than eighty knights. And the Lord King said: "Barons, it is night and we might hit each other as well as them, therefore let us assemble." And when they were collected on another hill, they saw full five hundred French knights coming with their banners. And if you ask me who they were, I shall tell you that they were three counts, kinsmen of the count of Nevers, who were anxious about him, because he had gone into ambush, and they had not seen him return at midday, when he should have returned to the host. And with the leave of the King of France they went to search for him. And so they saw those knights on a hill and the King of Aragon on another. And at once they went to their countrymen who went out to meet them, and they heard the bad issue of their enterprise and went to where the count and fully six others, kinsmen of his, were lying dead. And they carried them away with great weeping and great cries and went all night until they came to the host. And when they came to the host you might have seen

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mourning and weeping and cries, so that it seemed all the world was crumbling. And En Ramon En Folch, viscount Cardona, who was in Gerona, sent ten men out to bring back news and they captured men of the host whom they brought inside the city. And when En Ramon Folch saw them he asked what yonder weeping and lamenting was for. And they recounted to him what had happened. And then En Ramon had great illuminations made throughout the city of Gerona.

Now I shall let them be and will turn again to speak of the King of Aragon who said: "Barons, we shall stop here all night and in the morning we will ascertain what chivalry we have lost, for it would be a great dishonour to us to leave the ground thus." "Lord," said those who were with him, "what are you saying? Is what you have done to-day not enough? Shall we perchance have more to do to-morrow?" And the Lord King answered that he would certainly reconnoitre the battle-field for he did not wish any man to be able to reproach him. When it was day, the other almugavars who had been in the mountains, and of his chivalry more than five hundred men on horseback joined him. And the Lord King, with his banner unfurled, went about the ground with those who had been with him in the battle, for he did not wish that anyone else should set foot on it. And these searched the field and obtained so much beautiful harness[1] that they were made prosperous for all time. And the Lord King reviewed his followers and found that he had lost twelve horsemen, and that G. Escriva who died because of the sword he coveted. Wherefore every-one should take care that, whilst he is engaged in battle,

[1] Harness is described in an Act of Jaime I: "Item, that every person man or woman who owns property to the value of 25,000 solidos must keep one harness, *i.e.*, a bascinet, with visor and barbiere of iron, and cuirasses and hauberk, pourpoint, brazals, greaves and cuisses of iron, breeches of mail, wollen chausses, one glaive, one axe and one dagger or 'espunto.'" (Barcelona, Archives of the Crown of Aragon.)

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he care for nothing but victory; he should covet neither gold nor silver nor anything he sees, but care only to engage his enemies hand to hand. For, if his side wins, he will have booty enough when the booty is collected, and if his side loses he will have little profit of anything he has, for his body will be left there. And so take to heart what I am saying to you, and if you do, God will always bring you out of the field with honour. And so they, likewise, found that they had lost about twenty-five men afoot. And so you may imagine what kind of feat of arms this had been, of so few people against so many knights, that altogether there remained killed more than three hundred French knights, of whom, in the opinion of those who were in the battle, the Lord King alone had killed with his own hand more than sixty. And so they collected the harness and the money on the battlefield; as to the horses it was not worth taking one from the field, for there was not one who had not seven or eight wounds from lances.

And so the Lord King went to Besalú and all along that frontier men were rich and well-to-do, as men became likewise on the other frontiers. What shall I tell you? When the Lord King had inspected all there was there, he came to Hostalrich where the Lord Infante En Alfonso was.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and shall turn to speak again of my Lady the Queen and of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral and of the galleys and the two lenys which the Lord King sent them from Barcelona.

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CHAPTER CXXXV.

How the galley and the two lenys which the Lord King sent to my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and to the admiral En Roger de Luria assembled at Messina; and how the said admiral departed at once with sixty-six galleys; and how near the Formigueras he defeated the fleet of the King of France and took fifty-four galleys.

WHEN the galleys and the two lenys which the Lord King had sent to Sicily had departed from Barcelona they went the way which had been indicated to them; and they went so long that they came to Messina where they found the Queen and the Lord Infantes and the admiral, and they gave them the letters which the Lord King and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent them. At once the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to equip, incontinent, all the galleys which had been repaired. And at once the admiral had the trumpet sounded, in order that every man should come and take his pay for four months. And every man very joyously took his pay. What shall I tell you? In fifteen days he had fitted out sixty-six galleys which had been repaired; he would not wait any longer. And he made all his men embark very joyously and very cheerfully and took leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes. And he hastened to depart at once, in order to prevent any news of him spreading. Within these fifteen days no sail dared to leave Sicily to go West. And he set his course for Cabrera and had fine weather so that in a short time he came to Cabrera. And when he came to Cabrera he sent one of the lenys the Lord King had sent him to Barcelona. And there it found En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and they answered at once that he should shape his course for Aiguafreda; that, in those waters, he ought to find eighty-five galleys, at Rosas. And so that he should hasten before they had news of him; that they knew

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that he should find them in those waters, according to their spies; and so, likewise, that they, with all the galleys they had had repaired at Barcelona, would shortly be with him.

And so the armed leny went away with this answer and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol made all the men embark and equipped sixteen galleys which had been repaired. And the armed leny found the admiral out at sea. And when the admiral had seen the letter of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, he steered for Cape Aiguafreda, and, at night, beached the vessels at the Formigueras and there stayed for the night. And he had ordained that each galley should have three lanthorns ready, one in the bows, the other amidship and the other astern, in order that, if the galleys of the King of France came in the night, all the lanthorns should be lit at once, so that they should recognise their own galleys, and that the enemy should think that for each lanthorn there was a galley. And by this provision of the admiral the whole success was obtained, for, as he had planned, so it happened; when it was near daylight the fleet of the King of France passed with a lanthorn at the bows, and as soon as the admiral saw the fleet coming, he made all his men arm themselves. And meanwhile he sent two armed lenys to reconnoitre and they soon returned and told the admiral that the whole fleet of the King of France was there. And the admiral steered for them and put himself between them and the land. And when he was upon them, the lanthorns were lighted all at once and they attacked suddenly. And there you might have seen lances and darts fly and enlisted cross-bowmen ply their bows. What shall I tell you? Before it was daylight the admiral, En Roger de Luria, had scattered them all, had taken fifty-four galleys, and fifteen, manned by Pisans, had run ashore and sixteen, manned by Genoese

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had, for fear of this happening to them, already gone out of battle together and waited for nothing, but went out to sea and went back to their country. And when it was day the admiral reconnoitred the galleys and saw that they were stranded and found that they were of Pisans and had run aground. And the galley-slaves of the admiral carried out of them all that they could find and then set them on fire.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

How on the day of the battle En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol were with the admiral who delivered to them all the galleys he had taken; and how the said admiral took twenty-five more galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas and how he attacked and took Rosas.

AND when this was done, the admiral shaped his course for Rosas. What shall I tell you? On that day on which the battle was fought, at the hour of vespers, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol were with the admiral. And the admiral delivered to them all the galleys he had taken and told them to go by Pálamos and San Feliú and to take all the shipping they would find there to Barcelona, together with the galleys, and to make haste at once and he would go to Rosas to take the shipping which was there and the twenty-five galleys and the victuals that were on land; and that he would not depart thence until he had taken Rosas.

And so En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol did what the admiral had commanded. And at once they went to Pálamos and to San Feliú and took all the shipping which was there. And then they landed at San Feliú and burnt all the victuals there, so that they of the King of France who had remained all fled. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent ten

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men, in separate groups, to Hostalrich, to the Lord King of Aragon to let him know this good news; and then they went to the city of Barcelona and in the same way about all the country. And when they had done this they said: "Let us await the admiral here; although he told us to go to Barcelona, yet it is much better we should enter the city together with him, and that he should have the honour to whom it is due." And so they did and their proceeding seems good.

And when En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had departed from the admiral, he shaped his course for Rosas. And they of Rosas imagined that it was their own fleet and the twenty-five galleys, striving who should sail fastest, issued forth with great clamour. And the admiral had the banners of the King of France set up to draw them well out, in order not to lose the men by their running ashore. And when they had approached the admiral ordered his crews to row hard and he pulled down these banners and put up those of the King of Aragon. And they who saw this wanted to turn, but the admiral En Roger de Luria attacked them What shall I tell you? He took them all with all the men. And then he went to the port of Rosas where he found more than a hundred and fifty vessels, between lenys and ships, and terides, and took them all. And then he landed where there were full five hundred French knights with many pack-mules, who had come for victuals. And he attacked amongst them and dispersed them and killed more than two hundred knights; and the others, with all the people who could follow them, fled towards Gerona where they found that the King of France had heard already his ill chance; and they brought more bad news.

Then the admiral fought the town of Rosas and took it and garrisoned it well, because of the victuals that were in it. And when he had done this he went towards

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Barcelona and found En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol at San Feliú, and they told him how they had awaited him, and he was very content. And so the admiral sent from there to Barcelona all the shipping, as well galleys as other lenys and ships and terides. He saw well that the sea was his and that he need fear nothing.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

How the admiral and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol returned to Rosas and the great joy that all the people of Castellon had, which they dared not show because of the children of the King of Mallorca who were in Paris.

AND with En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, together with all the armed galleys, he returned at once to Rosas; for he thought that the King of France would not be able to tarry at the siege and that it would be well that he, with the seamen, should be at the Pass of Panisars, and that they should have their share of the booty and of the men. And as he had planned, so he did; he came to Rosas and from Rosas to the gates of Castellon, and do not ask me if the people of Castellon and of all the country were joyful. The joy at Peralada was infinite, and in Roussillon it was as great, although they dared not let it appear, because the King of France had two sons of the King of Mallorca in Paris, namely the Infante En Jaime, the eldest, and the Infante En Sancho, who came next to the Infante En Jaime. For this reason the Lord King of Mallorca and his people dared not let it appear that they were pleased at the favour God had shown to the Lord King of Aragon.

Now I shall cease to speak of the admiral, who is ready to go to the Pass of Panisars, or where he would

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hear that the King of France would have to come out with his followers, and I shall speak again of the Lord King of Aragon. However, be sure that he sent word to Sicily by an armed leny of all that had happened to him and of the situation of the Lord King of Aragon and of where the King of France was.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

How the Lord King of Aragon went to the Pass of Panisars to annihilate the French and how the King of France left the siege of Gerona ill and before he died begged the Infante En Philip to return to France; and how the Lord King of Aragon granted him the favour of passing through safe and sound.

WHEN the Lord King of Aragon heard this news he went at once to the Pass of Panisars with all his people, horse and foot, who were on the frontiers, in order that neither the King of France nor any man of his host should escape him. And when the King of France knew all this he raised the siege of Gerona[1], ill and distressed as he was, and went to the plain of Peralada and there he collected all his followers. And, assuredly, he did not find that in all the host he had three thousand armed horse, and of men of arms afoot none, for all had died, some in feats of arms and some by sickness; indeed he held himself for lost. And do not ask me about the cardinal; willingly would he have absolved the Lord King from punishment and guilt if he would allow him to leave his

[1] Desclot alone among historians attributes the raising of the siege to sickness caused by a plague of flies sent by God to chastise the arrogance of the French. In course of time, the legend of St. Narcissus arose and became deeply rooted in the belief of the people. A seventeenth-century Life of the Saint says he sent the flies from his grave, and they killed 2,400 horses and 40,000 men. No early records mention this plague of flies; an ancient inscription on a stone under a window of the prison at Gerona attributes the raising of the siege to famine, "per fam perderenla."

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territory in full security. What shall I tell you? The King of France was so full of grief that his illness grew worse and he summoned his sons to his presence and said to monsenyer En Philip: "You have been, throughout, wiser than We; if We had believed you We should not be dying now (for We shall be dead before the night is over) nor would so many good people have died, and will die yet, through Our fault. Wherefore We give you Our grace and blessing and beg you on no account to let any injury be done to those people of Castellon who have surrendered to Us, nor to those other places around here; but rather absolve them of all they are bound to Us for and let all return to their lord as they were before. And again, I advise you to send secretly a messenger to your uncle, the King of Aragon, to ask him for a passage, that you may pass safely, you and your brother and my body. I am certain that, if he wishes it, not one of you will escape, but you will be killed or taken prisoners. But we know that the King of Aragon wishes you so well (and he knows you love him) that he will not deny you and so you will act for the good of my soul and of yours. And again, Son, I beg you to grant me a favour." "Lord," said he, "whatever you ask shall be done. Ask what you please, for I am prepared to fulfil it." "Son," said he, "you say well; God's blessing and mine be upon you. Do you know, Son, what it is I ask of you? That you bear no ill-will to your brother Charles who is here, for having taken the realm of his and your uncle; for you know well that the guilt is not his; that the guilt was all Ours and your uncle's, King Charles's. Rather, I pray you that you love him and honour him as one good brother should love the other, for you are sons of one mother,[1] who issued of one of the greatest kingly houses of the world, of kings that are of the most accomplished knights of the world.

[1] Isabel, daughter of Jaime II of Aragon.

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Therefore you should love him dearly. And again I pray you that you endeavour and make every effort that the House of Aragon be at peace with the House of France and with that of King Charles, and that the prince, your cousin,[1] come out of prison. If you obtain this there will be peace."

And upon this he held him and kissed him on the mouth and did the same to Charles and made them kiss each other. And when he had done this he raised his eyes to Heaven and sent for the body of Christ and received it with great devotion, and then Extreme Unction was administered to him. And when he had received all the Sacraments that a good Christian should receive, he crossed his hands on his breast and said: "Lord and true God in Thy hands do I commend my spirit." And so he passed away gently, and made a good end in 1285
the year 1285, at the end of the month of September. And if you ask me where he died, I will tell you that he died in a house of En Simon de Vilanova, knight, which is at the foot of Pujamilot near Vilanova, at less than half a league from Peralada.

And when the King of France was dead, King Philip commanded that his death be kept secret; however, he sent his secret messengers to the Lord King of Aragon, his uncle, who was at the Pass of Panisars and let him know that his father was dead, and begged him earnestly to let him pass with his followers; that it was better for him that he should be King of France than any other man. And when the Lord King of Aragon received this message, it is said he at once let it be known to his brother, the King of Mallorca, who was at Suelo,[2] two

[1] Charles II of Naples.

[2] Bofarull thinks there never was a place called Suelo, and that Boulou is meant, called in the Chronicle *Volo and Vel*. The 'S' he takes to be the Mallorcan article "s," prefix of 'u' which was interchangeable with 'v.' Volo was, in the time of Pedro III, under the sovereignty of the King of Mallorca.

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leagues distant from where the host was, and told him to issue forth with his chivalry and followers from Roussillon to meet his nephew, King Philip of France, and receive him at La Clusa, in order that the almugavars and seamen who were already at the Pass with the admiral En Roger de Luria, should not annihilate the Frenchmen; and that, beyond Perthus and the pass he, himself, would forbid his men, as much as he was able, to go near the oriflamme. And he would tell his nephew, the King of France, to go always close to the oriflamme, he and his brother; and in this way they would prevent their followers from doing the Frenchmen the great hurt they might do them.

And as the Lord King commanded so it was done and accomplished; and so he made it known to his nephew, the King of France. And when monsenyer En Philip, King of France, heard that the Lord King of Aragon would safeguard him and his brother and also those who would pass on close to him, and that he had ordained that the King of Mallorca should meet him at La Clusa with his chivalry, he considered what he should do and called the cardinal and his brother and said to them: "I have had an answer from the King of Aragon, Our uncle, and he lets me know that he will give a safe-conduct to myself and my brother and those who will go near me with the oriflamme. But of the others he cannot assure the safety, for his followers are such that no one can rule them; so I see that We shall lose a great many of the men belonging to Us." Answered the cardinal and said: "Lord, as he is doing you this favour, proceed to go on, for your person alone and your brother's are more important than all the rest. And so do not let us delay, but let us go on, and all those who will die here will go to Paradise."

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CHAPTER CXXXIX.

How King Philip of France, with his brother and with the body of his father and with the cardinal and the oriflamme issued out of Catalonia; and of the damage the almugavars did, killing people and breaking coffers.

AND monsenyer En Philip summoned his barons and formed a vanguard of five hundred armed horse in which the count of Foix was, and then came he, with the oriflamme, and with his brother and the body of his father, and with the cardinal; and with them went about a thousand armed horse. And then, after that, came all the pack-mules and the lesser people and the men afoot. And in the rear came all the rest of the chivalry which had been left, who might be about fifteen hundred armed horse. And so they moved from Pujamilot and intended to go that same day to Junquera; and that same day the admiral with all the seamen came to the Pass of Panisars. And God knows what sort of night the French had, for no one took off his armour, nor slept; but, rather, all night you might have heard laments and groans. The almugavars and retainers and seamen attacked them on the flanks and killed men and broke coffers; you would have heard a greater crashing from the breaking of the coffers than if you had been in a wood in which a thousand men did nothing else but split wood. Of the cardinal I tell you that, after he left Peralada, he did nothing but pray; this he did as far as Perpignan for every moment he expected to have his head cut off; and thus they spent all that night. And next morning the Lord King of Aragon had an order proclaimed, that every man should follow his banner and that, on pain of death, no man should attack until his banner went to the attack and the trumpets and nakers

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were sounded. And so everyone collected around the banner of the Lord King of Aragon.

And when the King of France was ready and his van was passing through Perthus, the Lord King of Aragon let them pass, but all his followers cried: "Let us attack Lord, let us attack!" But the Lord King kept them back and would not have it on any account. And then came the oriflamme with the King of France, his nephew, and with his brother and with the body of their father and with the cardinal, as you have heard already had been ordained; and they proceeded to pass through the said village of Perthus. And so likewise then the followers of the Lord King of Aragon cried in a loud voice: "Lord, for shame! Lord, let us attack!" But the Lord King held them back still, until the King of France had passed and those who went with him near the oriflamme.

And when the pack-mules and the lesser people began to pass, do not imagine that, when the followers of the Lord King saw it, the Lord King or another could hold them back; so that a cry went through the host of the Lord King of Aragon: "At them! At them!" And then every man rushed upon them, and you would have seen breaking of coffers and plundering of tents and goods and of gold and silver and coin and dishes and such riches that every man who was there became wealthy. What shall I tell you? It was well for him who passed first, for of the pack-mules of the men afoot or of the knights of the rear not one escaped, but all were killed and the goods plundered. And, when they began to attack, the shouts were so great that they were heard four leagues off. The cardinal, who heard them, said to the King of France: "Lord, what is that? We are all dead men." Said the King of France: "Believe me, Our uncle, the King of Aragon, has not been able to hold his followers back; he has had enough to do to

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let Us pass. You could hear already, when Our van was passing, that they all cried: 'Lord, let us attack!' And you saw him restrain them with a hunting spear he was holding in his hand. And then, as we were passing, they cried: 'Lord, for shame! let us attack!' And then again he laboured even harder to contain them. And when we had passed and his followers saw the pack-mules, which caught their eyes on account of the goods, he could no longer contain them. Wherefore you may count upon it that, of those who were left, not one will escape. And so let us go on."

With that they passed Perthus and over a pass which is above a sloping bank which is there. They saw the Lord King of Mallorca with his chivalry and many men afoot from Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne, and he was on that pass with the royal banner unfurled. And the cardinal, who saw them, approached the King of France and said: "Ah, Lord, what shall we do? See the King of Aragon, who has already got ahead of us." And the King of France, who knew that it had been thus ordained by the King of Aragon and by the King of Mallorca, said to him: "Fear not, for that is Our uncle, the King of Mallorca, who is coming to escort us." And then the cardinal was very joyful, but he did not hold himself for over secure. What shall I tell you? The King of France went towards the King of Mallorca and the King of Mallorca went to meet him, and they embraced and kissed; and afterwards he kissed monsenyer En Charles and afterwards the cardinal. And the cardinal said to him: "Ah, Lord King of Mallorca, what will become of us? Shall we die now?" And the King of Mallorca, seeing him so altered that he looked as if he were dead already, could not help smiling and saying: "Sir cardinal, fear not; on Our head we assure you that you are safe and sound." And then he held himself for secure and never

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in his life had he such joy. And they went on, and the shouts and cries of the followers of the King of Aragon were so great in the mountains that all the world seemed crumbling. What shall I tell you? They went on at a good trot, where they could trot, until they had passed La Clusa, for none thought themselves safe until they were at Boulou. And that night the King of France and all his company remained at Boulou; but the cardinal went on to Perpignan, and there was no need for them to wait for the rear they had left behind, for the followers of the King of Aragon had sent them all to Paradise.

And next day the King of France, with the body of his father, and with his brother and with the King of Mallorca, who did not part from them, went to Perpignan; and there the King of Mallorca entertained them all for eight days, and every day he had masses said for the King of France. And a procession went out every day for the obsequies of the corpse which they absolved, and, night and day and as long as they were on his territory, the Lord King of Mallorca had a thousand big wax tapers burning at his expense. Indeed he showed so much honour to the body of the King of France and to his sons and all who were with him and to the cardinal, that the House of France should for ever be greatly beholden to him; and the House of Rome as well. What shall I tell you? When they had been at Perpignan eight days and had recovered well, they went on, and the King of Mallorca accompanied them until they were out of his territory and entertained them. And then he parted from them and returned to Perpignan and the Frenchmen went on in such a condition that, of their number, not ten in a hundred escaped; the others all died of diseases and illnesses. And the cardinal went on in such apprehension that fear never left him until, within a few days, he died and

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went to Paradise, to those he had sent there by his indulgences. What shall I tell you? They returned in such a state that, as long as the world lasts, they will not hear Catalonia mentioned in France and all its provinces without remembering it.

And so I must cease to speak to you of them and must again speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and of his followers.

CHAPTER CXL.

How the Lord King of Aragon returned to Peralada and settled all the country and granted many gifts and favours; and bid the admiral give back Rosas to the count of Ampurias with all the victuals and wine which were there; and how the Lord King went to Barcelona where great feasts were made.

WHEN the oriflamme had passed, as you have heard already, and the followers of the King of Aragon had killed or taken all those who had remained behind and had obtained a world of riches, the Lord King returned to Peralada and ordered and repaired the town and made every man return to it and granted them many gifts and favours. And he did the same likewise, afterwards, at Gerona. And the admiral went to Rosas. And the Lord King commanded the admiral to give up Rosas to the count of Ampurias and to give him whatever victuals and wine were there (the value of it was very great), to do this and then to go to Barcelona. And so, likewise, the Lord King, when he had put in order the city of Gerona, went to Barcelona and commanded that every man should return home. And so all returned to their lands, joyous and content and rich. And the Lord King and the Lord Infante En Alfonso went to Barcelona, and also all the richs homens, except

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those who were from Ampurdan and from the mountains and from the ports.

And when the Lord King and the Infante En Alfonso entered Barcelona, it pleased God that, that same day, the admiral with En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol should enter it too, with all the galleys. And the feast was very great in Barcelona; none like it had ever been made in any city. On the following Sunday, the Lord King threw three stylets at the target in each course and the Lord Infante En Alfonso as many; and the others were at martial exercises. The cheerfulness was such that all the world must needs rejoice. But the rejoicing began every morning with God, as every morning a procession was made through all the city praising and glorifying God for the grace He had done them and so, until the dinner hour, they gave all their time to God, praising and giving thanks, and after dinner they returned to their sports. What shall I tell you? The feast lasted eight days.

CHAPTER CXLI.

How the Lord King of Aragon sent the Infante En Alfonso to Mallorca with a great force of knights and almugavars to take the city, because the Apostolic was planning that the King of France should have the island of Mallorca, which the Lord King En Pedro wished to defend.

AND when the feast was over the Lord King called the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the admiral and said to them: "Infante, We wish that you prepare, incontinent, to cross over to Mallorca with five hundred knights, and besiege it, and the admiral will go with you. And the matter will be so ordained that, a few days after your arrival, the city will be surrendered

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to you, and all the island; and Ibiza the same. And do not delay, rather let it be done at once." And the Lord Infante answered: "What you command will be done; behold me ready. Settle who you wish should go with me."

And the admiral, who was a very wise knight, said to the Lord King: "Lord, your pardon; be pleased to forgive what I wish to ask you." Said the Lord King to the admiral: "Speak in all safety." "Lord, then, may it please you to tell the admiral what it is that moves you to send us to Mallorca?" Said the Lord King to the admiral: "Well said, and it is my pleasure that the Infante and you should know it. It is the truth, of which we are certain, from letters we have from friends of ours in Genoa and in Venice and in Pisa, that the Pope wishes to arrange that the King of France shall have the island of Mallorca, belonging to Our brother, by surrender or by force. And the pressure he can use is that the King of Mallorca would fear what the King of France would do to his two sons (whom he holds in Paris) who are his eldest sons. If he will not give up the island to him voluntarily, he would tell him he will cut off the heads of his two sons unless he gives it up; also, that he will take from him Montpellier and Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne. And so in short, I do not think that he can dare to say no; wherefore it is necessary that We should protect Our brother on this occasion, and Ourselves and Our country. Through Mallorca, the whole of Catalonia might be lost, by the help of the communes who greatly covet it and would willingly join in and help the Pope and the King of France with money. We have let Our brother, the King of Mallorca, know this and he is of the same opinion. Wherefore he has commanded some of the notables of the city to pretend they are being forced to do it, but that, incontinent, in a few days, they should surrender

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the country to the Infante. And so you will have the city soon and the King of Mallorca, Our brother, will be out of danger and we shall not be under any suspicion. But if once the forces of the King of France and of the communes entered in, the King of Mallorca could never go there again. And to him it is the same if we have it or he; when peace is made and he has his sons back in his territory, We shall at once surrender it to him." And the admiral said: "Lord, you have planned very wisely both for yourself and for the King of Mallorca, and I say to you that the only thing I was afraid of in this war was that the island of Mallorca might be against us." "Then, Admiral," said the Lord King, "prepare to go to Salou in the galleys and there have lenys fitted out to carry all you require; the Infante shall go anon to Tarragona and We shall send him richs homens and knights to the number of five hundred knights by whom he will be well accompanied. And We wish that En Conrado Lansa go with you, who is a fine speaker and very wise. And you shall ordain that he goes into the city to speak to the notables and En Asberto de Mediona likewise, who has seen and heard much. And act in such wise that Our followers do not touch even a cabbage and destroy nothing; for it is ordained that, when you have been there a few days, the city will surrender to you, and afterwards all the island. But it is best it should not be done at once, but rather that it should appear to be done by force, so that the Frenchmen cannot entertain an evil suspicion against Our brother, the King of Mallorca. His peril touches Us as nearly as if it were Our own, and that of his sons as if it were Our sons' peril. Therefore it is needful for Us and for him that We do Our business wisely, considering the people We have to contend with. God in His mercy help Us in it, and may it please Him that they deal with such good faith with Our brother

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the King of Mallorca, as he does and will do, and it will please Us if they never find in him anything but truth and all loyalty. For he and I were born of such parents that it would not be seemly that We should be found to be otherwise, by friends or by foes. However many enemies a man may have, it should not weaken his loyalty. And so prepare to go at a suitable hour."

And the admiral took leave at once of the Lord King and went to embark and set his course for Salou with all the galleys; and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol did likewise in their galleys. And the Lord Infante also, at the end of four days, had taken leave of the Lord King, his father, who blessed him and gave him his grace and his blessing; and he went to Tarragona. And the Lord King sent him the chivalry and two thousand almugavars. And this was done in order that it should appear that they had been able to take the city and the island by force. If he had gone over with few followers it would be very evident that they surrendered with the consent of the King of Mallorca and they would have run great risks by that, as has been said before.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord Infante and of the admiral who are preparing to embark and I will turn to speak to you again of the King of Aragon.

CHAPTER CXLII.

How, having read the letter of the Lord King of Aragon, the King of Mallorca sent an armed barge with secret letters to the noble En Ponce Saguardia, governor in Mallorca; and how the Lord King En Pedro prepared to go to Játiva to set his nephews free and make Don Alfonso King of Castile.

AND as soon as they had departed from the Lord King, he, with his own hand, wrote a letter to the King of

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Mallorca. What he wrote to him you can all imagine, according to the words you have heard before. And when the King of Mallorca had received the letters of the Lord King of Aragon, his brother, he sent an armed barge to Mallorca with letters he wrote with his own hand to the noble En Ponce Saguardia, who was his deputy in Mallorca; and so likewise he sent secret letters to other notables of Mallorca. What he told them I do not know, but you can all imagine it.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had had an answer from the Lord King of Mallorca he departed from Barcelona, joyous and content, to go to Salou, to help the Lord Infante and to send him off quickly. And then he purposed to go to the Kingdom of Valencia to bring Don Alfonso and Don Fernando of Castile,[1] his nephews, out of Játiva and to make Don Alfonso King of Castile, in order to revenge himself upon his nephew, King En Sancho of Castile, who had so failed him in his need and had not kept what he had promised him. And so he wished to revenge himself in such manner that all the world might take warning from it.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon leaving Barcelona to go to Játiva began to sicken with a cold; and how he was seized with fever at Vilafranca de Panadés where he made his will and received the precious body of Jesus Christ.

AND when he had departed from Barcelona, as he rose very early in the morning, he caught cold and with this cold came a burning fever, so that he suffered much on the road, in such manner that he had to stop at San

[1] The de la Cerda princes.

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Climent. And they sent at once to Barcelona to maestre A. de Vilanova[1] and others, and they had his water taken in the morning and examined it, and all said that he had taken cold, and that it was nothing. And, that day, he rode and went to Vilafranca de Panadés and when he arrived there the illness grew worse, so that he had a great deal of fever. And when the fever was alleviated, he summoned his clerk with whom he transacted his secret affairs, and made his will, well and in regular form that day; and then, on the following day, he examined it and, on the day after, again. And when he had examined it all and had it all done according to his wish, he had it published and had as witnesses prelates and richs homens and knights and franklins and townsmen. And when this was done he confessed many times to the bishop and to the abbot of Santas-Creus and to Preachers and Minorites, and cleared his conscience and then received the Saviour very devoutly, weeping, with tears overflowing his eyes, in the presence of all whom the chamber could hold. And all who were there wept likewise. And when he had done this and the illness increased every hour, the news of it went through all the country and reached the Lord Infante, who had already embarked.

And when he heard it, he thought it advisable to go to his father. And when he came to him and the Lord King saw him, he said to him: "Infante, who has given you this advice to come to Us? Are you a physician who could advise in Our illness? We are well aware that you know you are not, and so We do not need you. And if it please Our Lord and true God that We pass from this life at this juncture, then, as little are you

[1] Arnaldo de Vilanova. His fame as a physician and a philosopher was widespread; by some he was considered a heretic and a wizard for his opinions and his scientific knowledge, which were in advance of his time.

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wanted, for We have made and published Our will already. Therefore return and embark at a suitable hour, for your going is for the advantage of God and of your Kingdom and for that of Our brother, the King of Mallorca, and delay might cause great damage."

And upon this the Lord Infante kissed his feet and his hands and the Lord King kissed him on the mouth and gave him his blessing and made the sign of the Cross over him more than ten times. And, at once, he left and went to embark at Salou, by the favour of God.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

How the Lord Infante En Alfonso went to the island of Mallorca and how he besieged the city and a few days later entered into parley with the notables.

AND as soon as he had embarked the wind blew from the land and they put on all sail and in a short time came to the island of Mallorca and landed at Porrasa and, there, landed all the horses; and the Lord Infante with all the chivalry and all the almugavars went to pitch his tents at Torres Lavaneras and the admiral went there with all the galleys.

And when all were on land, the Lord Infante had a proclamation made that, under pain of death, no one should pillage or do any hurt or damage whatever to the huerta, nor to anything there. And when this was done, within a few days, they entered into parley with each other, so that En Conrado Lansa went into the city many times for the Lord King of Aragon, to speak with the governor and with the notables; and anon he went from the city to the Lord Infante and anon returned to it.

Now I shall let them be who are at their parleys and shall turn again to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

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CHAPTER CXLV.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon had his testament read out a second time in the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona and eight bishops; and how he left the Infante En Alfonso universal heir of the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia, and the Lord Infante En Jaime, King of Sicily.

AND when the Lord Infante had departed from the Lord King, on the following day, the Lord King wished that his testament should be read out again in the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona[1] (who was there with full eight bishops, all natives of the territory of the Lord King of Aragon), and of abbots and friars and men in orders and richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen. And when all were in the presence of the Lord King, the testament was so loudly read that all heard; and he left, as his executors, the archbishop of Tarragona and the bishop of Barcelona and the abbot of Santas Creus, and richs homens and knights, all worthy and wise and discreet and good Christians; and he disposed that all wrongs that, to their knowledge, he might have done should be righted.

And he disposed that his body should be buried in the monastery of Santas Creus, which is a very eminent monastery of monks, and is about six leagues from the said place, Vilafranca. And he left the Lord Infante En Alfonso absolute heir of the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia; and he left him all the rights belonging to the crown of Aragon, and the county of Barcelona and the Kingdom of Valencia, in all the four quarters of the world. And, besides, he left the said Lord Infante En Alfonso an injunction, commending to him my Lady the Queen, his mother,

[1] Bernardo de Olivella.

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that she should all her life be Lady and Queen and that she should never lose his love, and that he love her and honour her as one having the best lady and the most virtuous mother there is in the world. And, besides, he left him the Lord Infante En Pedro, who was his younger brother, to give him advice, and a mode of life becoming a king's son; besides, he left him his sister, my Lady the Infanta Violante, to whom he was bound to give, as husband, a king of high lineage. Besides, he left the Kingdom of Sicily, with all the rights pertaining to it in the four quarters of the world, to the Lord Infante En Jaime, who came after the Lord Infante En Alfonso in years; and he left a clause that, if the Lord Infante En Alfonso should die without children of a legal marriage, that he make over the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia, with all the rights belonging to all three, to the Lord Infante En Jaime, in the same way as he was leaving it to the Lord Infante En Alfonso. And, if peradventure, the said Lord En Jaime should die before the Lord Infante En Alfonso, that the Kingdom of Sicily should remain to the Lord Infante En Fadrique; and that he left the said Lord Infante En Fadrique in the power of the Lord Infante En Jaime, to establish him in such mode of life as becomes a king's son. And, again, he directed likewise that my Lady the Queen should always, during her life, be Lady and Mistress and Queen, and that he love and honour her, as he had directed the Lord Infante En Alfonso. And so likewise concerning the Infanta my Lady Violante, their sister; that he was bound to give her for husband a king of high lineage. And then the will contained many other things I need not relate, as they do not concern my matter.

And when the will was read and published the Lord King asked all, as loyal vassals, to tell him whether it seemed good to them. And all praised it as, assuredly

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it was wisely and perfectly made and with great deliberation, as it became him to do who was the wisest Lord of the world and the most experienced in all matters, And when this was done and published, the Lord King was well comforted, and everyone thought that he was much better. But next day, which was the eve of the blessed Saint Martin, the illness increased, and all that day and night he suffered much anguish. And next day, the day of the blessed monsenyer Saint Martin (a very gracious and worthy knight of God) Our Lord wished to call to His Kingdom this Lord King En Pedro, King of Aragon, the most accomplished knight of the world and the wisest and most generous of all men ever born, one who had more graces in his person than any man that ever was.

Besides, he left four sons, the wisest and most accomplished in arms and all feats that were in the world, and the most courteous and the best nurtured. And he left two daughters, one who was Queen of Portugal and the other, who was a maiden. And besides, all his life, he took vengeance of all who had done him and his sons a wrong, and overcame all his enemies, and increased the Holy Catholic faith and multiplied it; and he killed or vanquished many wicked Saracens. What shall I tell you? You will find in no legend whatever that God ever showed so much favour and mercy to any king. And again, his sons were of an age to reign, so that the House of Aragon needed not to delay even one day in prosecuting what he had begun. God saw that he was not wanted, such good sons had he; and so He wished, that day, to put him in the company of the baron, Saint Martin; so that death came to him.

And when the King knew that his end was near he took leave of all, commended to them my Lady the Queen and his children, and then he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them.

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CHAPTER CXLVI.

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon passed from this life and was buried in the monastery of Santas Creus; and how the executors sent a galley to Mallorca to the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon and to Sicily to the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily.

AND when this was done he had a crucifix given to him, which was opposite to him, and he received it in his hands weeping with great devotion and said many good orisons. And when he had done this he lifted his eyes to Heaven and made the sign of the Cross three times and then embraced the crucifix and crossed his arms over it and said: "Father, Lord, the true God Jesus Christ, in Thy hands I commend my spirit. And may it please Thee, by the Holy Passion Thou didst suffer, to receive my soul in Paradise with the blessed monsenyer Saint Martin, of whom all the Christians of the world celebrate the feast to-day, and with the other blessed saints."

And when he had said this he lifted his eyes to Heaven
Nov. 11 1285 and his soul left his body, in the year 1285, the day of Saint Martin; and he went to the other saints in Paradise, as if he were an infant going to join the angels in Paradise. God, in His mercy, wished it to be thus and so we must all be of opinion that he is with the blessed Saint Martin and with the other saints in Paradise, for no Christian ever made so good an end as he did, nor with greater contrition.

And when the Lord King had passed from this life you might have seen mourning and weeping and cries, such as never had been made or heard. And whilst all were weeping the executors, those who were in that village, had already had a galley equipped at Barcelona, when they saw that the Lord King was ill. And as soon as he had expired, they chose a wise and good knight and gave him two authentic copies of the will of the Lord

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King and commanded him to embark at once, at Barcelona, in the galley he would find apparelled, and to set his course for Mallorca and to go where he would find the Lord King En Alfonso, King of Aragon. And when he came to where he was, that no man should go on shore but only he, and that he let no man approach the galley. And when he was there, that he speak in private with the said Lord King and with the admiral and tell them the death of the Lord King and give them one of the copies of the testament. And as soon as he had done this, that he embark and go to Sicily, and that he set his course for Sicily before any other man. And, when he was in Sicily, that he tell my Lady the Queen and the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily, and the Lord Infante En Fadrique the death of the Lord King and that he give the Lord King En Jaime the other copy of the will. And the knight said that he was ready to do what they commanded. And he went to Barcelona and found the galley ready for embarkation, and at once they rowed hard and departed.

Now I shall cease to speak of the galley and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon. As I have told you already, the mourning was great throughout all the land, for messengers went to all parts. And on the following day there came more than a thousand people, and from Tarragona and from all the country of Panadés more than five thousand, so that so many people assembled that there was not room for them at Vilafranca nor for two leagues around. And next day, with a great procession, they carried the body to Santas Creus and there they celebrated the Holy Office very solemnly, for he had been absolved and had sworn obedience to Holy Church. And there were sermons and all the ceremonies it was fit to celebrate for such a lord. And you might see there, from the time he had passed from this life until he was buried, more than ten thousand people,

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each holding a large taper. And when the Lord King had been buried all went back to their lands and everywhere they found great lamenting and great weeping. God, in His mercy, have his soul, Amen. Dead is he who would have been another Alexander in the world, if he had only lived ten years longer.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him, and shall turn to speak again of the messenger who is going in the galley to Mallorca and Sicily.

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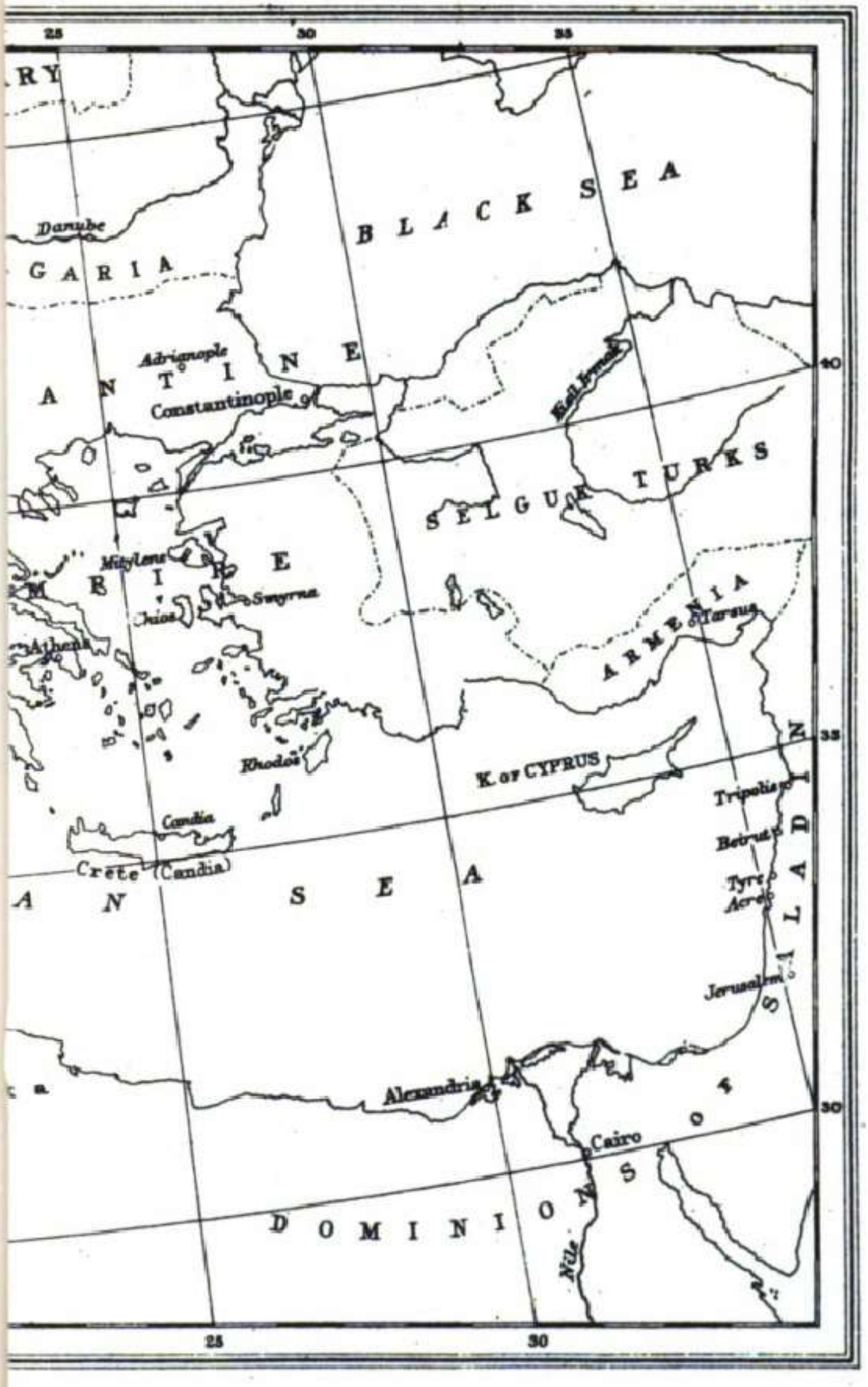

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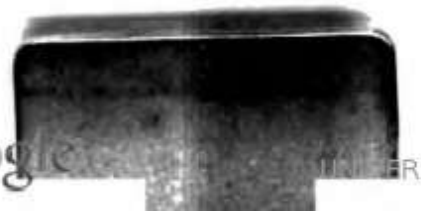

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